ŚAṄKARA - VIJAYAS

A COMPARATIVE AND A CRITICAL STUDY



By

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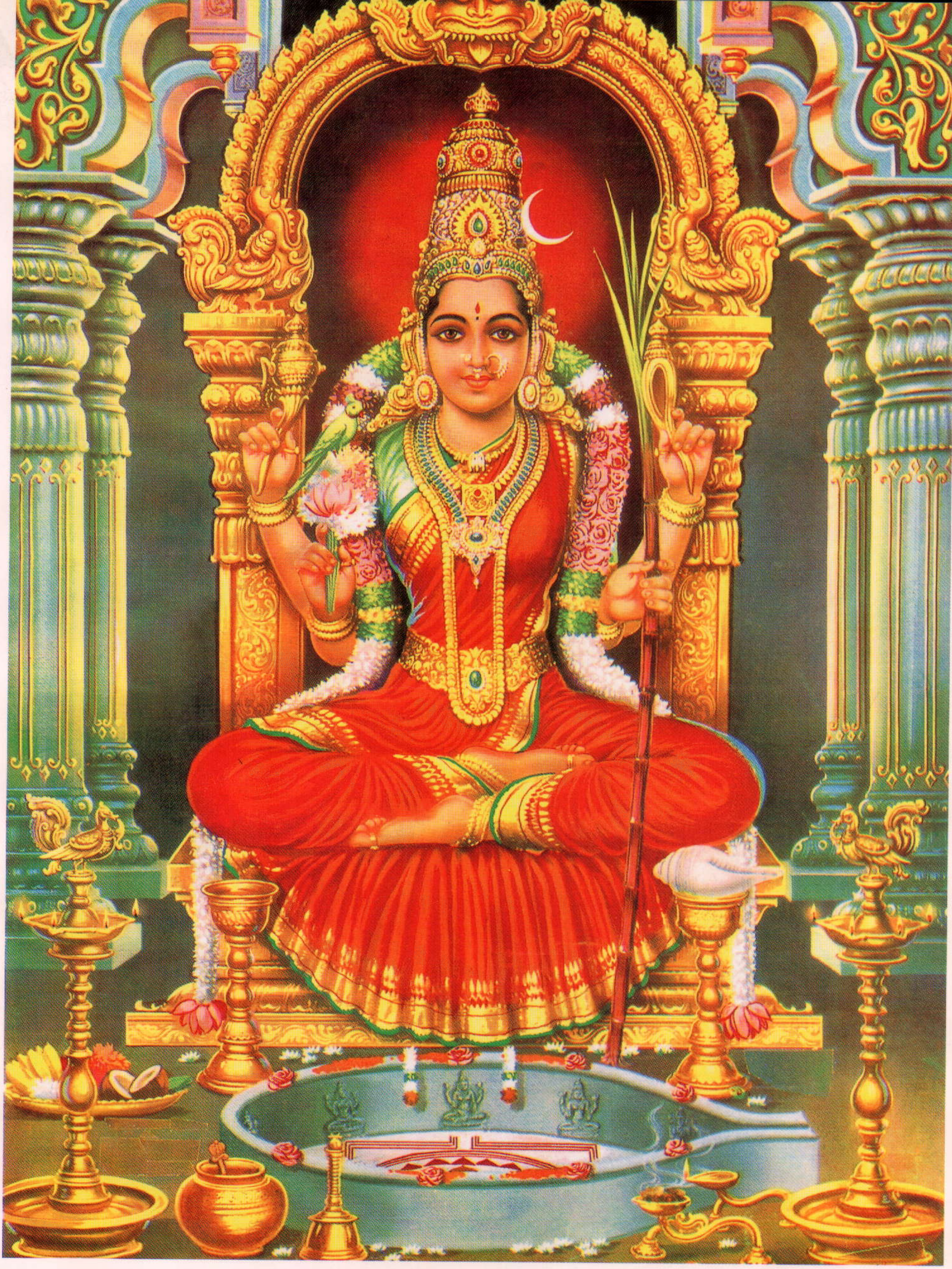
January 12, 2003

It is heartening to know that Veda Sastra Pandita Raksha Sabha, Mumbai is publishing Dr. W. R. Antarkar's book "Sankara Vijayas - A Critical Study". Dr. Antarkar is an acclaimed scholar who has done a lot of research and taken keen interest in the study on the Life and Works of Sri Adi Sankara and has written many books and contributed articles which have appeared in distinguished journals and prestigious institutions. Dr. Antarkar approaches his subject in an unbiased and critical manner, and this has earned him a special recognition in the literary field.

Dr. Antarkar's books and articles have been found to be of important source materials for researchers and students who work on the philosophy advocated by the great teacher of Advaita. We hope that the present publication on the "Sankara Vijayas - A Critical Study" will be of great benefit to those who have interest in Sanatana Dharma.

Our blessings to the author Dr. Antarkar and all those who have an opportunity to read this publication.

Narayanasmruti



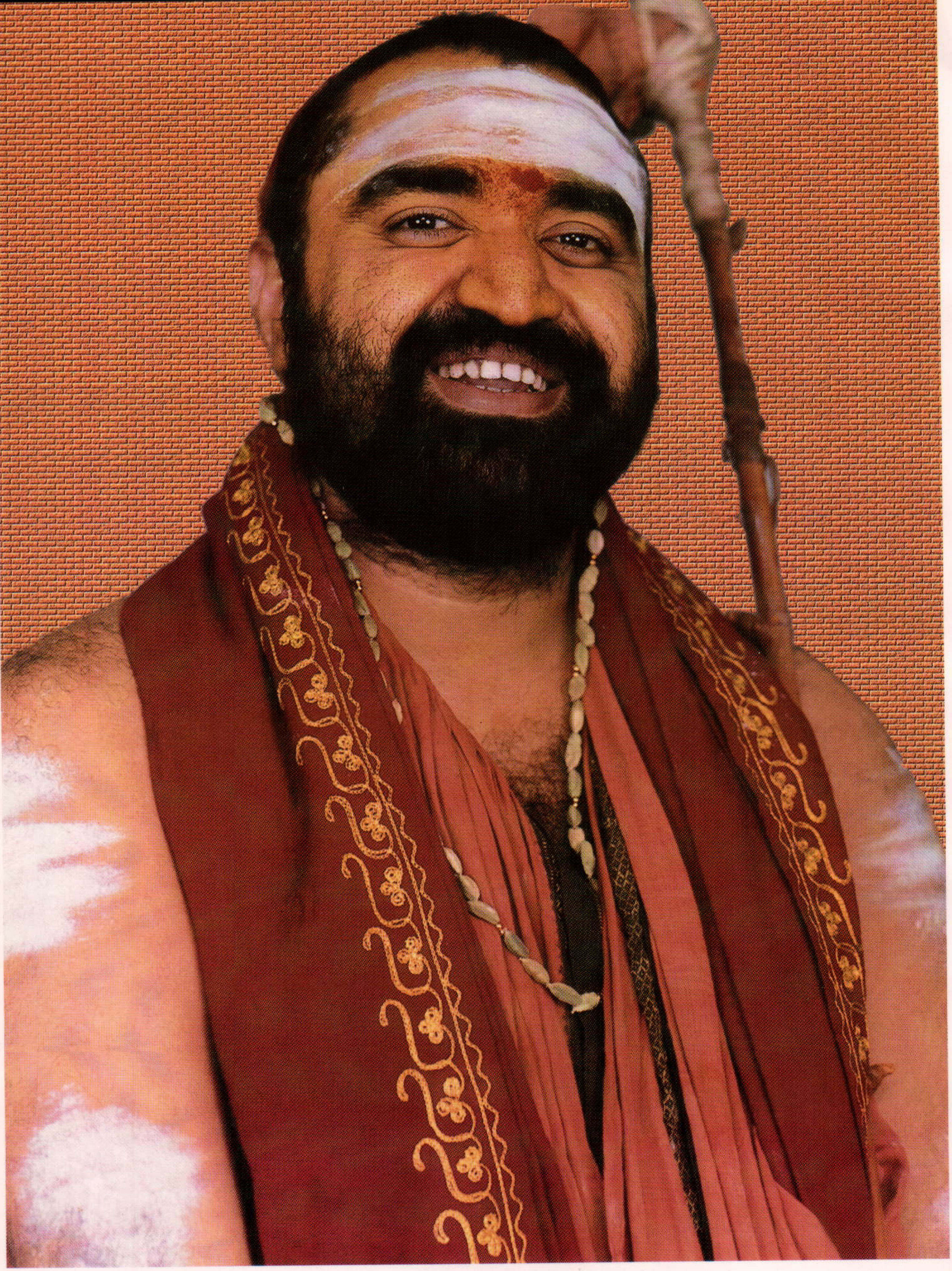
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HH Sri Jayendra Saraswati Sankaracharya
69 th. Pontiff of Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Peetam.



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Prajña Pāthaśāla Mandal, Wai

Evaluation of the thesis

'SANKARA - VIJAYAS'

A comparative and a critical study by
Dr. W.R. Antarkar, M.A. LL.B. Bombay.

I have read with great pleasure and profit 'Sankara-Vijayas a comparative and critical study' by Dr. W.R. Antarkar M.A.LL.B. It will be evident to any careful reader of the work that the author has made a deep study of all the available biographies of Sri. Śaṅkarācārya in Sanskrit as well as much of the relevant secondary material in English and Indian languages. This by itself should be quite a daunting task in view of the vast amount of literature that is involved. Further, Dr. Antarkar has put this study to a good use he has ably summarised the contribution of previous research in this area and the tentative conclusions reached by it and uncovered for interested scholars the vest area for further research in which their labours and talents can be fruitfully engaged. It will not be an exaggeration to say that he has succeeded in identifying almost all the issues which will have to be faced in attempting a definitive biography of the great Indian Philosopher and can be attempted. I may mention by way of illustration, the question of the place where Śri Śaṅkarācārya entered the final samadhi, his age at the time of the death of his father, or the identity of the Sarvajña-pītha which he mounted. And some of these like the first in this list he has been able conclusively to resolve. All in all this work represents a considerable advance in research on Śri Śaṅkarācārya's life and work and will facilitate the task of sifting the plethora of mythical accounts of Śaṅkara's exploits which we have before us with a view to gathering the historically reliable facts which they have the potentiality of yielding. The work undoubtedly deserves deserves to be made available in print to the scholarly community both in view of the importance of its subject as well as high level of scholarship it represents.

WAI (Dist. Satara)
10th July, 1984. **(TARKATEERTHA LAXMANSHASTRI JOSHI)**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has been prepared under the guidance of Principal R.D. Karmarkar, Ex-Director, Post-Graduate and Research Department, Bhāṇḍārkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona - 4. I have greatly benefited by the discussion held with him, particularly at the time of reading out the thesis to him, when he made many important and valuable suggestions. My sincere thanks are due to him for the same.

My thanks are due to the Prime Minister's Secretariat, New Delhi, Government of India, New Delhi and the State-Governments of Bombay and Madras for the help they tried to give me to get access to certain sources of material relating to my thesis.

My humblest and most respectful thanks are also due to their Holiness, Jagadgurus, Śrī Śaṅkarācāryas of Śṛṅgerī and Kāñcī mutts for extending to me every facility for my research work at their respective mutts.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not give my grateful thanks to Dr. P.K. Gode, Curator, B.O.R.I., Poona - 4 and his assistant, Śrī S.N. Savadi for their very prompt and willing cooperation and help, but for which I would have made but little progress in my work.

I am greatly indebted, indeed, to all the libraries (mentioned in Ch.I of the thesis) and their directors and Curators for their courtesy and kindness in giving me free access to their records and for other help I needed in connection with my thesis.

Lastly, I take this opportunity to record my feeling of gratitude to all those persons, too numerous to be mentioned individually, who have helped me, more or less, in my present research work.

CONTENTS

PREFACE

INTRODUCTION TO THE PRINTED EDITION

I am really very happy and also thankful to His Holiness Śri Jayendra Saraswati Swamigal of Śri Kanchi Kamakoti Swamigal for undertaking the work of getting published my Doctoral thesis on the life of Sri Ādi Śaṅkarācārya, submitted to the University of Poona in 1960 for the Ph.D. Degree. The same was accepted by the said University and the Ph.D. degree was declared and awarded by them in 1961.

The thesis proper, now being published is exactly as it was submitted to the University of Poona. Some additions have, however been there in at the end, by way of appendices, in the form of articles bearing of certain main topics discussed in the thesis contributed to some distinguished journals of prestigious Institutions like the B.D.R.I. Poona - 411 004, University of Bombay, Asiatic Society of Bombay and Bharatiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay (their Research journal Bharatiya Vidyā). The articles were written by utilising the additional material, which was not available till 1960 but which came to hand in the form of books, articles, papers etc., later - some even quite late. One detailed article on the Date of Śri Śaṅkarācarya, which has so for not been published anywhere has also been included in this book as a separate appendix while an article on Śri Śaṅkarācārya's authorship of the Gita Bhashyam, which was published in Oriented Thought, Poona, 1962, has been included here alongwith a short supplement, not published anywhere so far. Similarly a supplementary Bibliography, containing the new material mentioned earlier, as far as it could be done, has been added in at the end. Lastly, one review-cum-recommentation for the printing of the thesis by the late Tarka-tirtha, Shri Laxmana Śastry of the Prajña Pāthaśāla Mandal, was a very great scholar from Mahārāṣtra of the last generation, has also been given in this book at the very begining of this book.

I am extremely thankful to all the aforesaid Institutions for granting me permission to include in this book the articles published in their journals and (posthumously) the late Panditji, who recommended that this thesis should be brought out in print and made available to scholars interested in the subject matter of the same. Last, but not at all the least, I cannot adequately express my feeling of gratitude to H.H., the reversed Kāñci Kāmakoti Swamigal, Sri Jayendra Saraswati for the very kind favour he has conferred upon me by arranging for the publication of this thesis and also conferred upon me the great honour of bringing to light this little work of mine in this field. With my most humble pranams at His feet, I shall ever remain grateful to H.H. for the same.

Vile Parle (East).
Mumbai - 400 057.
Date : 01-01-2003

Dr. W.R. Antarkar M.A.LL.B., Ph.D.

SYNOPSIS

Title : Śaṅkara Vijayas - A Comparative and a critical Study

The thesis has been entitled 'Śaṅkara Vijayas - A comparative and a Critical Study' being an exhaustive analytical examination of about fifteen biographies of Śaṅkara, going under the name Śaṅkara - Vijaya and the like.

Chapter - I is introductory. After stating that comparatively little research work has been done on the life of Śaṅkara so far, it shows what new work has been put in for the thesis, as also its nature and scope.

Chapter - II deals with the data collected for the thesis, under three heads, with special reference to the biographies known as Śaṅkara - Vijayas.

Chapter - III contains a theoretical discussion of the essentials and evaluation of a good biography, with particular regard to the subject of the thesis.

Chapter - IV deals with the question of comparative chronology of the Śaṅkara - Vijayas, with approximation, as far as possible, to the dates of their composition and the question of their authoritativeness, individually and generally from the point of view of history.

Chapter - V discusses the question of Śaṅkara's date. After enumerating the various views expressed in the matter, four views have been selected for discussion and stated and examined in details.

Chapter - VI starts discussion of Śaṅkara's life proper and deals with the background, birth and early years, upto the point of Śaṅkara changing the course of the Cūrṇī river.

Chapter - VII deals with Śaṅkara's apprenticeship under Govindamuni and Gauḍapāda and his final initiation, along with renovation of the Badari-Nārāyaṇa temple.

Chapter - VIII is devoted to Śaṅkara's last visit to his dying mother, then to his dying Guru Govindamuni and his acceptance of Sanandana as his second disciple, along with a few minor incidents like the revival of a dead boy.

Chapter - IX deals with Śaṅkara's encounter with Kumārila-Bhaṭṭa. In this connection, an important question as to who were Kumārila's true opponents - Buddhists or Jains - has been discussed at some length.

Chapter - X deals with the meeting of Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana-Miśra. At the very outset, the question of Maṇḍana - Sureśvara identity has been discussed at great length and the identity is attempted to be established. The chapter also discusses critically topics like the nature of the exact discussion between Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana and Śaṅkara's para-kāyā-praveśa.

Chatper - XI deals with Śaṅkara's famous triumphant tour or Digvijaya-Yātrā, with incidents like his encounter with the Bhairava, Kāpālikas etc. At the end, the question of the validity of the Kācī Mutt, as the fifth mutt established by Śaṅkara has been discussed in great detail and the validity is shown to be proved by evidence available so far.

Chapter - XII deals with Śaṅkara ascending the Sarvajñapīṭha and his passing away. Questions about the location of the Sarvajña-pīṭha and the place of his final exit from the world have been critically examined and new conclusions reached in regard to both.

Chatper - XIII concludes the discussion in the preceeding chapter with a brief resumé of Śaṅkara's life and some remarks in general on the various life-accounts of Śaṅkara.

Chapter - XIV contains a very brief discussion of the works that can be attributed to Śaṅkara.

Three appendices have been added at the end. Appendix - A discusses briefly Śaṅkara's Guru-paramparā. Appendix - B deals with a minor poem and two biographies of Śaṅkara, not incorporated in the thesis proper. Appendix - C contains a brief discussion of the principal tenets of Śaṅkara's philosophy.

A complete bibliography has been added, showing all the works used and consulted for the thesis, with full details, where necessary, of their sources and present location, as far as they were available.

As has been stated in the Introductory Chapter, the type of comparative and critical examination of Śaṅkara's biographies, discussing each phase of it separately, has not been attempted by anyone so far. Besides, in addition to seven or eight altogether new biographies, brought to light for the first time, many questions have been discussed at great length and fresh conclusions have been drawn with the help of evidence and reasoning. The questions discussed are :

1. Authenticity of the existence of Bṛhat Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Citsukha and prācina Śaṅkara Vijaya of Ānandagiri.
2. Validity of the quotations in Suṣamā, a commentary on Gururatnamalīka, a Kāñcī mutt publication.
3. Discussion of Śaṅkara's date and criticisms of the post-Christian Date theory.
4. The birth-place of Sankara.
5. Who were the opponents of Kumārila-Buddhists or Jains?
6. Maṇḍana - Sureśvara identity - Maṇḍana's residence.
7. The Śaṅkara-Maṇḍana discussion and the incident of Para-kāyā praveśa.
8. Location of Sarvajña pīṭha in Kāśmīra or at Kācī.
9. Location of the place of Śaṅkara's final disappearance in the Himālayas or at Kāñcī in the south.
10. Discussion about Śaṅkara's authorship of the Gīta Bhāsya.

It is, therefore, submitted that the new material brought to light and the fresh findings recorded constitute the contribution of the present thesis.

ABBREVIATIONS

1.	Bṛ. Ś.V.	बृ.शं.वि.	Bṛhat-Śaṅkara Vijaya
2.	Pr.Ś.V.	प्र.शं.वि.	Prācīna Śaṅkara Vijaya
3.	Ś.V.	शं.वि.	Śaṅkara Vijaya
4.	-	शं.भ्यु.	Śaṅkarābhyudaya
5.	Ś.V. Jaya	शं.शं.जय.	Saṅkśepa-Śaṅkara Jaya
6.	Ś.V. Vilāsa	शं.वि.वि.	Śaṅkara Vijaya Vilāsa
7.	-	शां.दि.सार.	Śaṅkara-Digvijaya-Sārā
8.	-	शं.मं.सौ.	Śāṅkara-Manda-Saurabha
9.	-	शं.महिमा.	Śaṅkarācārya-Mahimā
10.	G.V.K.	-	Guruvaṃśa - Kāvya
11.	G.R.M.	गु.मा.	Guru-ratna-māla or mālikā
12.	Br. Sū	ब्र.सू.	Brahma-Sūtra
13.	Br.Sū.Bh.	ब्र.सू.भा.	Brahma-Sūtra Bhāṣya
14.	Up.	उप	Upaniṣad or Upaniṣads
15.	Br.Up.	बृ.उप.	Bṛhadāraṇya Upaniṣad
16.	Chh.Up	छा.उप.	Chhāndogya Upaniṣad
17.	Taitt.up	तै.उप.	Taittirīya Upaniṣad
18.	Ait. Up.	ऐ.उप.	Aitareya Upaniṣad
19.	Ait. Ar.	ऐ.आ.	Aitareya Āraṇyaka
20.	Up. Sā	उप.सा.	Upadeśa Sāhasrī
21.	Viveka Cū	विवेक.	Viveka-Cūdāmaṇi
22.	Br. Si.	ब्र.सि.	Brahma-Siddhi of Maṇḍana
23.	MBh.	महा.	Mahābhārata
24.	Bhg.	-	Bhagavad-Gītā
25.	Cit.	-	Citsukha

26.	Ānand	-	Ānandagiri
27.	Anantā	-	Anantānandagiri
28.	Vyā	-	Vyāsacala
29.	Cid	-	Cidvilāsa
30.	Govind N.	-	Govinda-Nātha
31.	Tiru.D.	-	Tirumala Dīxit
32.	Rāja. D.	राज.दी.	Rajacūḍāmaṇi Dixit
33.	Mād.	-	Mādhavācārya
34.	Sadā	-	Sadānanda
35.	Bāla Gopāla	-	Bāla-Goipāla-Yati
36.	Br. Saras.	-	Brahmānanda Sarasvati
37.	Param.	-	Parameśvara Kavi Kaṇthirava
38.	Nīlā.	-	Nīlakaṇṭha
39.	Vallī.	-	Vallīsahāya
40.	Gauda.	-	Gauḍapāda
41.	Rāmā.	-	Rāmānujācārya
42.	Dr. Rādhā.	-	Dr. S. Rādhākṛaṇan
43.	B.O.R.I. Annals	-	Annals of the Bhāndārkar Oriental Research Institute.
44.	I.A. or Ind. Ant.	-	Indian Antiquary
45.	IHQ	-	Indian Historical Quarterly
46.	J.A.	-	Jain Antiquary
47.	JRAS	-	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
48.	JBNRAS	-	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
49.	Madhvā.	-	Madhvācārya
50.	Anantā.	-	Ananatānandagiri
51.	Ānanda.	-	Ānandagiri
52.	Śaṅ.	-	Śaṅkara/Śaṅkarācārya

Chapter I

INTRODUCTORY

"Perhaps, it may even be said that the world has yet to produce a philosopher of Śri Śankarācārya's calibre", says Lokamanya Tilak.[1] Scholars are gradually getting agreed that he is a great figure indeed, particularly in the field of philosophy. Leading thinkers of the day have praised him in no uncertain terms. Dr. S. Radhakṛṣnan speaks of him thus :

"It is impossible to read his writings, packed as they are with serious and subtle thinking, without being conscious of our being in contact with a mind of fine penetration and profound spirituality. With his acute feeling of the immeasurable world, his stirring gaze into the abysmal mysteries of the spirit, his unswerving resolve to pay neither more or less than what could be proved, Śaṅkara stands out as a heroic figure of the first rank among the somewhat motley crowd of the religious thinkers of medieval India."[2]

Western scholars also, with their natural bent towards realistic energism (what I would call a more worldly attitude) and equally natural and express dislike for a negative and quiestistic philosophy, such as Śaṅkara can be said to have expounded, have recognised in him wonderful powers of mind and intellect. Even an ordinary reader of his writings cannot but feel the force of a very great genius.

Yet, it is a matter of great regret that we do not still have a satisfactory or a sufficiently historically reliable account of Śri Śaṅkara's life. It is, however, not intended to suggest that nothing was ever written on the subject. On the contrary, it is quite natural that attempts should have been made to extol his greatness, both by his contemporaries and by his successors in time. In fact, we do come across references to and quotations from such old works in later writings.[3] In addition to these old works, which are not available to us today but about which I shall say a good deal in the next chapter, about twenty works are reported[4] to exist, purporting to be biographies of Śri Śaṅkara. Based on one or more of these works, (the maximum number of works used by scholars so far does not exceed six)[5] many modern writers have tried to write an account of Śaṅkara's life in

1. Gīta-Rahasya, B.G. Tilak, p. 20 (1915 edn.)
2. Vedānta (Śaṅkara and Ramaniya), Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, p.)
3. Age of Śaṅkara, T.S. Narayana Śastri.
4. श्रीशंकराचार्य Prof. Baldev Upadhyaya, pp.9 and 290.
5. Ibid.

diverse languages, such as Hindi, Marathi, English, Bengali etc.,[6] and at least some of them have been great scholars and research workers too. It is, however, regretted that no systematic and exhaustive research has, so far, been done on this subject. In the first place, no one has, so far, tried to trace out and bring together all the biographies of Śaṅkara, as far as they could become available. Many of the biographies have simply been reported to exist but when the persons concerned are asked to furnish the sources, they either say that they do not remember or merely quote some previous reference, which they have only copied without mentioning it and which reference itself throws no further light on the whereabouts of the work or works in question. That is to say, that no one has tried to trace such references to the last source or to bring the work or works to light. Similar attitude is noticed in the case of quotations. Almost not a single person has cared to verify or trace the sources of quotations given by previous writers, to their origin. Quotations, once given, have simply been copied by one scholar after the other. Lastly, though all the biographies, written in Sanskrit by different writers at different times, agree as to the general contents viz., the life account of Śaṅkara, the order of events is different in different works, some works altogether omit certain events while important incidents are narrated by different biographers with important variations. Works like that of Mādhave even refer to persons, who came centuries after Śaṅkara, as having argued with him on philosophical matters, thus reducing history to a bundle of anachronisms.

But no one has so far tried to subject all these works to a comparative and a critical analysis and to arrive at some conclusion regarding Śaṅkara's life. Even those, who have done something like a research in this line and from whom such work is expected, have almost completely followed Mādhava's version of Śaṅkara's life. noting very rarely indeed, the variant versions of three or four other biographers only. I do not intend to cast any aspersions on the previous scholars in the field. My only submission is that such an intensive research has, so far, not been done by any one on the subject, with the result that, as in the case of the world's greatest dramatist, William Shakespeare, beyond a few bare facts, we know almost next to nothing authentic about Śaṅkara's life. Mine is an attempt to fill up, as much as possible, the gap in the subject, by focussing together all the works and other information that I could gather by correspondence and by visiting personally, various Śaṅkara mutts and other places, as also leading libraries throughout India. I have visited the following places in this connection :

MUTTS

1. Śṛṅgeri Śaradā mutt (Shimoga District)
2. Kalady (Śṛṅgeri) Mutt-Malbar - twice.
3. Kūḍli Śṛṅgeri Mutt - (Shimoga District).
4. Kanchi (Conjeevaram) Śāradā Mutt.
5. Kamakoṭi Mutt - Kumbakonam.
6. Govardhana Mutt - Jagannatha Puri.

6. A complete bibliography of all biographies in the different languages has been added at the end for information and further research.

7. Jyotir-Mutt Branch (Alopi Rang) - Allahabad.
8. Śriram Tarak Mutt - Kāśī.
9. Śṛṅgeri Mutt Branch - Kedara Ghat - Kāśī.
10. Dwārkā Sāradā Mutt - Dwārkā.
11. Śaṅkara Mutt - Kolhapur.
12. Śaṅkara Mutt - Nāsik (Dr. Kurtakoti).

LIBRARIES

MALABAR

1. Government Sanskrit College Library, Tripunthura - 5, Ernakulam, Cochin. Madras

MADRAS

2. Madras University Library
3. Government Oriental Mss. Library
4. Connemera Public Library.
5. Adyar Library - twice

KUMBAKONAM

6. Government College Library
7. Gopal Rao Library
8. Sādhu-Śeṣayya Library
9. Advaita Sabhā Library

MYSORE

10. Government Oriental MSS. Library
11. Palace Saraswati Bhandaram.

TANJORE

12. Sarfoji Maharaja's Saraswati Mahal Library.

ŚRĪ RAṄGAM

13. Vāṇi Vilās Press
14. Śri Śaṅkara Gurukul Library

CALCUTTA

15. University Library
16. Sanskrit College Library
17. National Library.
18. Bengal Asiatic Society Library
19. Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad Library

KĀŚĪ

20. Saraswati Bhavan - Queen's College
21. Banaras Hindu University Library
22. Kāsī Mahārāja's Library
23. Udāsīna Sanskṛt Vidyālaya
24. Sāga Veda Vidyālaya

GWALIOR

25. Central Library
26. State Sanskrit Mahāvidyālaya Library
27. Victoria College Library
28. Govt. Secretariat Library (Moti Mahāl)

NEW DELHI

29. Central Secretariat Library

UJJAIN

30. Scindia Oriental Institute

In addition to all this, I have contacted at least 25 persons (most of them eminent Śāstris) personally and still more by correspondence.

As a result of all these efforts, I have so far been able to collect sixteen biographies in Sanskṛit, of Sri Śaṅkara and a lot of other information relating to his life and the mutts established by him. Eight of the sixteen biographies are altogether my own finds and I have brought them to light for the first time. The biographies form the subject proper of the present thesis and it is going to be my attempt to examine and analyse them comparatively and critically, discussing each phase of Śaṅkara's life in the light of information available from the same and thus to see whether and how far we can construct a tolerably reliable account of the great man's life and life-work. In so doing, I am not only going to use the other information collected by me but also the information available from Purāṇas, works of Śaṅkara's opponents and biographies of other persons. I am also going to make use of modern biographies of Śaṅkara wherever necessary for comparative discussion. I do not claim to have said the last word on the subject. There is still room for further research in the matter. My submission, however, is that in addition to the new works and other information brought to light, the kind of comparative study attempted by me is altogether new and that as a result of that study, I have been able to arrive at many new conclusions on important topics, connected with Śaṅkara's life. Before, however, I proceed to the actual life of Śaṅkara, I shall first deal with the data - main as well as subsidiary - available for the purposes of the present inquiry.

Chapter II

THE DATA

As will be clear from what has been said in the previous chapter, the data can be divided under the following main heads :

1. Biographies proper in Sanskrit by different writers.
2. References in other works.
3. Recently written biographical works, based on one or more of the first two sources.

The scope of the present thesis is mainly limited to the first source. The second is used for getting some additional and corroborative information while the third is intended for general use and discussion. I shall now examine these sources in their order.

The late Mr. T.S. Nārāyaṇa Śāstri, in the first part of his book 'Age of Śaṅkara'[1] enumerated for the first time, the works in Sanskrit, dealing with the life — story of Śri Śaṅkarārcārya. The works were :

1. चित्सुखाचार्यविरचित 'शंकरविजय' or 'बृहच्छङ्करविजय' or 'गुरुविजय'
2. आनन्दगिरिकृत 'शंकरविजय' or 'प्राचीनशङ्करविजय'
3. विद्याशंकर a/s शंकरानन्दकृत 'शंकरविजय' or 'व्यासाचलीय'
4. गोविन्दनाथकृत 'शंकरविजय' or 'आचार्यचरितम्' or 'केरलीयशंकरविजय'
5. राजचूडामणिदीक्षितकृत 'शंकरविजय' or 'शंकराभ्युदय'
6. अनन्तानन्दगिरिकृत 'शंकरविजय'
7. वल्लीसहायकृत 'शंकरविजय' or 'आचार्यदिग्विजय'
8. सदानन्दकृत 'शांकरदिग्विजयसार'
9. चिद्विलासकृत 'शंकरविजयविलास'
10. माधवाचार्य's 'संक्षेपशंकरजय' by श्रीविद्यारण्य कृत शांकरदिग्विजय

Out of these ten works, I have been able to get only eight, excluding the first two, which I have failed to trace after a most intensive search throughout the length and breadth of India. In addition to these eight, however, I have been able to get eight more works, out of which six

1. Vide p.30 - Part I - A - 'Age of Śaṅkara'.

are entirely new and my own finds, while the other two, though known by name to scholars, have been used by me for the first time. The eight works are :

1. 'शंकराचार्यमहिमा' by बालगोपालयतीन्द्र
2. 'शंकरविजय' or 'बृहच्छङ्करविजय' by ब्रह्मानन्दसरस्वती
3. 'आचार्यविजयचम्पू' by परमेश्वर कविकण्ठीरव
4. 'शंकरविजयसंग्रह' by पुरुषोत्तम भारती
5. शंकराभ्युदय by तिरुमलदीक्षित
6. 'शंकराचार्यचरित' by अनन्तकवि
7. 'शंकरमन्दारसौरभ' by नीलकण्ठ
8. 'गुरुवंशकाव्य' by 'लक्ष्मणसूरि'

I shall now give a brief account of each of these works (first printed ones and then those in manuscript form) and their authors and lastly deal with the two untraced works. The question of their relative position in time will be considered at a later stage.

(1) माधवाचार्य's संक्षेपशाङ्करजय or विद्यारण्य's शाङ्करदिग्विजय as it is popularly known, is the most widely known nad read of all the biographies of Śaṅkara. The common man's knowledge of Śaṅkara's life is based, directly or indirectly, on this work and religious preachers like Kirtankāras and Pravacanakāras rely mainly or even solely on this biography. As at present available in print, this work runs into 16 chapters. At the very outset, it states that it is going to be a summary of an ancient work called Prācīna Śaṅkara Jaya.[1] Even though the work is popularly known as Śāṅkara - Digvijaya and its authorship has been ascribed to Vidyāraṇya, the celebrated philosopher and writer of Pañcadaśī, the work itself nowhere makes mention of either. The colophons at the end of all the chapters, without exception, give the author's name as Mādhava and the name of the work as Śaṅkṣepa Śaṅkara Jaya.[2] According to tradition, this Mādhava subsequently became Vidyāraṇya, the first being his name before Sannyāsa and the second after Sannyāsa. Tradition, however, is not unanimous on this point. Śṛṅgeri-mutt does not seem to favour this identity because one of the āsthana-pandits there told me that Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya were two distinct personalities and that this was evidenced by Guruvamśa-Kāvya, a work of their own Śāstrin, Laxman Surin. When I had been to Śṛṇgeri, I was definitely told by the same Pandit that whoever this Mādhavacārya may have been, no Mādhava, according to his knowledge, ever became a Sannyāsin and he seemed to be quite firm on this point.

Scholars also have disputed this identity and a long controversy among them had appeared through the issues of the Indian Historical Quarterly.[3] The question is not very

1. The stanza reads : प्राचीनशंकरजये सारः संभृहस्ते स्फुटम् ॥
2. Every colophon reads : इति श्रीमाधवीये तद्‌.........।
संक्षेपशंकरजये................ अभवत् ॥
3. Vide Volumes VI, VII and VIII.

pertinent to the present inquiry and until it is finally proved otherwise, I shall take it that the two persons are distinct.

When I had been to Kumbakoṇam, one local Puṇdit, Mahādeva Śāstrin, showed me some additional stanzas he had noted in his book, as belonging to Mādhava's work. He has noted more than 40 such stanzas, to be found at different places in Mādhava's work, consulted by him. Thus, in Chapter - I, between stanzas 4 and 5 of the printed edition, he gives the following stanza :

तत्तादृशोक्तमकवित्वविदां कवित्वं नाति प्रशंसति जनः किमु मामकीनम् ।
वैयर्थ्य इत्थमुभययत्र समेय शुद्ध्यै बुद्धेः प्रवृत इति बुद्ध्यधिकाः क्षमध्वम् ॥

In like manner, he has noted the other stanzas, to be inserted at different places in different chapters of Mādhava's work. Now, I have procured a transcript copy of the first chapter of Mādhava's work, from Government Oriental Madras Library.[4]

This chapter does contain the stanza quoted above between the stanzas indicated by the Kumbakonam Śāstrin. In addition to that stanza, the chapter contains two stanzas,[5] between stanzas 1 and 2 of the printed edition. The first of these two has been quoted by Sri.T. Chandrasekharan in his introduction to Vyāsācala's Śaṅkara-vijaya.[6] This finding leads me to the inference that the other additional stanzas also, noted by the Kumbakonam Śāstrin, are likely to be found in this ms.D.12174.

(2) The second printed work is Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Anantānanda Giri, or by Ānandagiri, as presumed by many. This work was printed in the Bibliotheca Indica Series in 1881 A.D. In the Oxford Catalogue of Sanskṛit Mss., Mr. Collins Mackenzie describes the work as "as legendary life of Śaṅkara".[7] The work generally contains 74 chapters, some mss. (e.g. Kāśi Ms. and Sakesvar Ms.) having only 73 chapters. The Sakesvar mutt (a copy of it is with me) referes to the work as मतनिबर्हण only, a fact to be noted only मतनिबर्हण in passing.

The work mainly deals with Śaṅkara's discussions with the followers of different philosophical tenets and an account of the refutation by Śaṅkara of their arguments and their ultimate conversion to the Vedic way of life. In this sense, the work can be said to be truer to its name Śaṅkara Vijaya or Mata-Nibarhaṇa, than the others. The other facts of Śaṅkara's life have been dealt with very briefly.

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4. Their Ms. Reference is D.12174.

5. The stanzas are : व्यासाचलप्रमुखधूर्विकपण्डितक्ष्मा । भूत्सम्भृतोध्वतरकाव्यतरोः सुरीलेः ।
विद्वन्मधुव्रतसुखोरुरसानि सर्वा-ण्यादातुमर्थकुसुमान्यहमक्षोऽस्मि ॥
यन्त्रादुददसंधिषणासृणिना ग्रहीतुम् ॥ शक्यं तदत्र सरसं सकलं गृहीत्वा ।
कांश्चिन्महेश्वरगुरुः स्मृतिभिन्ममोहः । संक्षेपशंकरजयस्रजमातनोमि ॥

6. Vide p. iii

7. p.

In the printed work, the colophons to the first 32 chapters give the author's name as Anantānandagiri, whereas all the remaining colophone mention it as Ānandagiri. But the mss. of this work in Ānandāśrama Collection (Poona) and the Sankesvar mutt ms. give the author's name as Anantānandagiri in all the 73 or 74 chapters without exception. The writer also at the very commencement of the work, refers to himself as Anantānandagiri, the direct disciple (of Śaṅkara)[8], while he refers to Ānandagiri in the third person.[9] It may, however, be noted that he refers to himself also in the same manner at the beginning of chapter 65.[10] From this however, we need not deduce that there were two persons of the same name. Ānandagiri, who wrote Nyāya-nirṇaya and Anantānandagiri, the writer of the present work, are two distinct persons. The former invariably refers to himself as the disciple of Śuddhānanda, who is not mentioned by the latter anywhere. On the contrary, Anantā calls himself the direct disciple of Śaṅkara. I am going to show a litter later that Ānandagiri was the author of another work called Prācīna-Śaṅkara-Vijaya, which the present author seems to have tried to epitomise with alterations and omissions of his own. Prof. Baldev Upadhyaya maintains the same view and remarks that it is completely wrong to regard Ānandagiri as the author of the present Śaṅkara Vijaya.[11] I am, therefore, unable to accept the statement of the late Mr. Bodas that Anantā. is the same as Ānand.[12] This misconception of Mr. Bodas is responsible for his remark that the stanza quoted as from Anand's Pr.Ś.V., is not found in the printd work.[13] It is indeed surprising to find that Acyutaraya Modak, the commentator of Mādhavācārya clearly specifies the identity of Ānand. as the commentator of Śaṅkara's Bhāsyas, disciple of Śuddhānanda and the author of Pr. Ś.V. and even quotes in his own commentary on stanza 28 and stanza 85 of chapter I of Mādhava's work, sentences from Pr.Ś.V., not found in the printed edition and inspite of all this, seems to suggest[14] that Pr.Ś.V. and the printed Śaṅkara Vijaya as also their authors are identical.

One important point deserves notice. The printed edition mentions in chapter III, the place of Śaṅkara's birth as Cidambarapura, his parent's names as Viśiṣṭā and Viśvajit and those of his grandparents as Sarvajña and Kāmākṣi. However, after going through about 8 or 9 manuscripts of this work in different libraries in India (two manuscripts from Ānandāśrama collection, one from Tanjore, 3 or 4 in O.R. Institutte, Mysore), I have found that the same particulars regarding Śaṅkara's birth-place & c. are given therein as in the other biographies. Mr. Mahadeva Śāstrin of Kumbakonam told me that the Tāḍa-patra manuscript he had with him, also contained the same particulars as in the other biographies. He said that according to

8. The words are : अनन्तानन्दगिरिरहसप्रतिहतशिष्यः मम परमगुरोरक्तारकथां करोमि ।

9.

10. The words are : कवाचिच्छिष्या अनन्तानन्दगिरिमुखा परमगुरुं न त्वेषमुचुः ।

11. अतः प्रसिद्ध आनन्दगिरि को इसका कर्ता मानना नितान्त ममपूर्ण है ॥ श्रीशंकराचार्य - p.11

12. Vide श्रीशंकराचार्य व त्यांवा सम्प्रदाय M.R. Bodas, p.9

13. Ibid., p.18

14. See his commentary on I.2 and I:99 of Mādhava's work.

his information, this mischief was due to a follower of Mādhva School. I am going to discuss the question of the influence of the Mādhvas on Śaṅkara's life at the end of the thesis. For the time being, however, in fairness to the printed edition, I would like to keep it on record that one manuscript of this work in Scindia Oriental Research Institute, Ujjain, gives the same particulars as found in the printed text.

The Kāmakoṭi Pītha has published a book called श्रीगङ्गादितीर्थविजययात्रा, at the end of which are given certain extracts from some chapters of this Śaṅkara Vijaya. On comparison I have found that they contain some additional matter that is not found in the printed text but is found in some other manuscripts (Ānandāśrama manuscripts) of this work. It should be noted that these extracts have been included in his book on Śaṅkara by Prof. B. Upādhyāya.[15] One thing deserves notice. The last extract is given as from Chapter 130 of the work by both but after a good deal of inquiry I was not able to understand this reference to Chapter 130, when no manuscript of the work contains more than 74 chapters.

I have already said that the author calls himself then अप्रतिहतशिष्य, which term all the scholars seem to interpret as 'a direct disciple of Śaṅkara', whom he refers to as his Parama-Guru (परमगुरु), throughout the work. The quotation given from Chapter 65 also seems to show that he was a direct disciple of Śaṅkara. There are, however, serious objections to this view. They are :

(i) I am going to show later on in this chapter that most probably, the 900 stanzas quoted by Dhanapati Śāstrin in his commentary on Chapter XV of Mādhava's work are from the Pr. Ś.V. of Anand., a disciple of Śuddhānanda. These stanzas give the various stages of Śaṅkara's tour throughout India. I have compared these stages with those described by Anantā. in the work under consideration and have found that not only the order of stages but the names of the opponents and the places where they were encountered by Śaṅkara, their descriptions, their arguments - nay, even the quotations cited on each side - the duration of Śaṅkara's stay at each place - all these are exactly identical in the two works and yet the two works are distinct, as is evident from the fact that the latter work deviates in one or two places from the order in the former, contains more prose and less poetry and more annotative matter than the former does. I have no doubt in my mind that the writer of the present work had before him that Pr.Ś.V. of Ānandā. - and that work must have been a voluminous one indeed - only some part of which he has tried to utilise and utlise most faithfully. It is, therefore, quite clear that this work came after the work of Ānanda. and even if, for argument's sake, we concede that Ānandagiri was a contemporary of Śaṅkara - which in my opinion is far from possible, we cannot accept that Anantānandagiri also was a direct disciple and hence a contemporary of Śaṅkara. The term अप्रतिहतशिष्य, therefore, can only mean that he came in some direct

15.See श्रीशङ्कराचार्य pp.18 to 20

line of Śaṅkara and nothing more.

(ii) Justice Telang has shown[16] that most probably, Ānantā. belonged to the 14th century A.D. which disproves that he was the direct disciple of Śaṅkara, whichever date is assigned to the latter. I have discussed in Chapter IV the question of Anantā's date and shown that he cannot be placed much earlier than the 14th century A.D.

(iii) The third work to appear in print, as late as 1952, is Śaṅkara-Vijaya by Vyāsācala or Vyāsācalīyam, as it is more generally called. The same has been printed and published by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, but has not been used by any one so far, writing on Śaṅkara's life.

The work runs into 12 chapters, of which the first three simply recount the story of Upamanyu. The colophons give the author's name differently as व्यासशैलमुनि (Chapter - II), व्यासाचल (Chapter - III), व्यासाद्रि (Chapter - V), व्यासगिरि (Chapter - XII), and the name of the work itself as शङ्करदेशिकेन्द्रविजय (Chapter - I), शङ्करविजय (Chapter - II), शङ्करजय (Chapter - XI) and श्रीशङ्करविजय (Chapter - XII). Beyond these details, we know practically nothing about this author.

Mr. Ātreyakṛṣṣa Śāstrin has written in Tamil a work called Śaṅkara-Guru-Paramparā, wherein he says that Vyāsācala is the 52nd Guru in the line of 65 Gurus from सर्वज्ञात्मेन्द्रसरस्वती to महादेवेन्द्रसरस्वती and that he occupied the revered seat of Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha from 1498 A.D. to 1507 A.D. Further, his name is found in a copper-plate of 1507 A.D. during the reign of the Vijayanagara king, Narasimhadevarāya. Mr. Śāstrin further adds that this author, Vyāsācala was born in Kānchi and his original name was Kuppaṇṇā. When he became the chief of the Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha, his name was changed to Mahadevendra Saraswatī. He performed severe penance in the cave of a mountain called Vyāsācala and attained divinity on the first day of the dark half of Āṣādha. For this reason, he was called Vyāsācala-Mahendra Saraswati and hence his Śaṅkara Vijaya also is called Vyāsācalīya.

After giving this information, as supplied by the Śāstrin,[17] the editor remarks that if this is strue, it is rather strange that Vyāsācala, who was the head of the Kāncī-Kāmakoṭi Pītha has not even mentioned the name of that mutt, the life of the founder of which is described by him in his work.

The Gururatnamālikā of Sadāshiva Brahmendra (17th century), mentions Mahadevendra Saraswati as the 54th Guru from Śaṅkara i.e. 52nd from Sarvajñātman, who happens to be the third in the line, but there is no indication therein to identify this 52nd Guru with Vyāsācala. Puṇyaślokamanjari, however, another list of the Gurus of the Kāncī-Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha, identifies the two and also ascribes the work Śaṅkara Vijaya to this

16.Vide his article 'Śaṅkara Vijaya of Ānandagiri' in Indian Antiquary - Vol. V - p.287

17.See Vyāsācala's Śaṅkara Vijaya, Ed. by T. Chandrasekharan - Introduction, pp.4 and 5).

54th Guru from Śaṅkara.

As stated already, the editor of Vyāsācala's work quotes in his introduction, as from Mādhava's Saṁkṣepa Śaṅkarā Jaya, the stanza 'व्यासाचलप्रमुख' & c. which clearly refers to Vyāsācala as a writer of old on the same topic. At another place[18] also, Madhava refers to old poets while stanza 17 of Chapter - I of his work mentions the name Vyāsacāla,[19] which, however, both the commendators of that work, Dhanapati Surin and Achyutarāya Modak interpret so as to refer to Mādhava only. In addition to this, we find that Mādhava incorporates bodily in his own work, nearly 425 stanzas from Vyāsācāla's work and on comparison we find that Mādhava seems, on the whole, to have amplified what already existed in Vyāsācāla.

Besides Mādhava's reference to Vyāsācala, we also find him referred to with great respect, at least twice, by Govindanātha in his own work on the life of Śaṅkara.[20]

Vallīsahāya, who also has written a biography of Śaṅkara, refers to one Vidya Śaṅkara.[21] The late Mr. T.S. Nārāyana Śāstrin ascribes Vyāsācaliyam to Vidyā Śaṅkara alias Śaṅkarananda.[22] Perhaps, Vidyā Śaṅkara was another name of our author, though no corroboration of the same is forthcoming. We can, however, conclude that this author was sufficiently old and very highly respected in the days of Govindanātha and Mādhava and, therefore, the latter has drawn upon him freely.

(iv). The fourth printed work is शंकराचार्यचरितम् by गोविन्दनाथ. The same was printed and published as early as 1931 A.D. by Mr. S.N. Joshi, Citraśālā Press, Poona city and yet it does not seem to have been used by writers on this subject so far. The editor of this work says[23] that "nothing is known about Govindanatha but he seems to be anterior to Mādhavācārya." Curiously enough, the work does not mention the writers's name or anything about him and yet, to all intents and purposes, the author's identity remains unquestioned.

This is a work in 9 chapters and is in the form of a dialogue between a Guru and a disciple, where however, the Guru does the main talking and the disciple merely supplies the motif for the same. The work gives the life of Śaṅkara in brief, at places very much so. It differs in important details from other works like those of Vyāsacala and Mādhava in giving the account of Śaṅkara's life.

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18. Madhava's S.Ś. Jaya - I :4

19. Ibid I.17 धन्योव्यासाचल कविवरस्तत्कुतिज्ञाश्च धन्याः ॥

20. Vide the two stanzas, which run as :

सर्वागमास्पदं वन्दे व्यासाचलमिमं कविम् ।
वभूव शङ्कराचार्यकीर्तिकल्लोलिनी यतः ॥ I:6

अत्युन्नतस्य काव्याद्रेस्तलं व्याप्य भुवोऽखिलम् ।
अर्थप्रसूनमादातुमसमर्थोऽहमद्भुतम् ॥ I:7

The work is also known as Keralīya-Śaṅkara Vijaya (केरलीयशंकरविजय). The editor of Vyāsācala's work quotes the two stanzas 'सर्वागमास्यदं' and 'अत्युन्नतस्य' & c. from Govindanātha's Śakarācārya Caritam and Keralīya Ś.V. and thereby seems to suggest that the two works are distinct. Such, however, is not the case. The same work bears the two names as both the stanzas appear consecutively in the very chapter, in print as well as in the manuscript in Tanjore Saraswathi Mahal Library. When I had been to Kalaḍi, the birth-place of Śaṅkara, I was shown a paper-manuscript of Keralīya S.V. and also the printed work of Govindanāth and I found both of them to be identical. Besides this identity of the two works, we can, I think, reasonably infer from this that the author also hailed from the Kerala country and from the manner of his treatment of his subject matter, does seem to precede Mādhavācārya, i.e. to come to a very early period of history, compared with that of Mādhavācārya. This work has since been edited by me and has been published in Bhā.Vidyā of Bhā. Vidya Bhavan, Bombay - Vol-LII (1-4) 1992.

5. The next work to be considered is शंकराभ्युदय by राजचूडामणिदीक्षित. The work contains 8 chaters, six of which are said to have been printed by Vāṇi Vilāsa Press, Śrīrangam.1 When, however, I personally visited this press at Śrīrangam and enquired about the published portion of the work, the manager told me that they had never printed or published the same. In the Adyar Library, Madras, I was able to find printed in the Madras Sahṛdaya Sanskrit Journal the remaining two chapters, of which I have procured from them a handwritten copy.

This poet gives us much more detailed information about himself than the other poets do. Thus, we are told that the poet's name is Cūḍāmaṇi and that his father's name is Śrīnivāsa and mother's Kāmākṣī. (The colophon also refers to him as श्रीनिवास दीक्षिततनय and कामाक्षिगर्भसम्भव). He was one of the renowned poets in the South and was under the patronage of the Tanjore-king Raghunātha.[24] The poet's father had performed Viśvajit-yajña, whence perhaps the appendage Dīxit to the name. The poet tells us that he too was a performer of sacrifices (he calls himself a Makhī).

In one of the benedictory stanzas (No.5) the poet salutes Kṛṣṇasūrin as his Vidyāguru whereas the colophons refer to him as "one who has attained proficiency in the lores from Srīmad Ardhanārīśvara."[25] In benedictory stanzas 9 and 10, the poet salutes the great sage Ānandaghana-Bhāratī, also called Ānandaghana (St.10), who appears to have been his spiritual preceptor. It is not at all unusual nor uncommon in India to have one Vidyāguru and another as Mokṣaguru. In early times, mere book learning was not considered

21.Vide the following : विद्याशंकरहृद्यसद्गुणभरैप्याराधितेयं भवेत् ॥ I : 6 (line 1)

22.Vide his 'Age of Śaṅkara' Part I, p.

23.See Introduction, p.xi.

24.Vide श्रीशंकराचार्य by Prof. B. Upadhyaya, p. 11 and p. 290.

25.The words are : श्रीमदर्धनारीश्वरगुरुचरणसहजलब्धविजयावेशय.... ।

sufficient and since a pundit was not necessarily competent to be a spiritual preceptor, some other person was found out for the purpose and was looked upon and treated as such.

The poet's spiritual preceptor appears to have been what the Bhāgavata Purāṇa would like to call a शाब्दे परे च निष्णातो गुरुः । and also a great wirter. We are thus told that Ānandaghana wrote (1) शब्दकल्पतरु (2) प्रमेयकल्पतरु (3) सत्सूतसारसङ्ग्रह and prabandhas like the well-known अध्यात्मरामायण & c. The poet tells us that it was at the instance of this Guru that he undertook the present work. Further on, however, he also tells us that once in a dream, he saw Bṛhaspati, who directed him to write an account of Śaṅkara's life and hence the present undertaking. Perhaps, the first was the Guru's command proper while the second was the Nimitta-Kāraṇa. The main object behind both these is to invest the work with some kind of divine sanctity by suggesting that the work was divinely inspired and thus had behind it a sanction above himself.

But this is not the only work of the poet. As can be gathered from the foregoing information, he must have been a profound scholar and we now learn that he was a prolific writer too. On this own statement, we know that besides the life of Śaṅkara, he wrote the following works :

(1) शास्त्रदीपिका
(2) तन्त्रशिखामणि
(3) संकर्षकाण्डस्य नव्या न्यायमुक्तावलि
(4) न्यायचूडामणि
(5) रुचिदत्तव्याख्या
(6) काव्यप्रकाशिकादर्पण
(7) अमृतायमानानि काव्यानि च शतम् ।

The colophons also testify to his having written many works.[26] The present work on Śaṅkara's life is one of them and one of the nectar-like poems. The curious thing to note about this particular work is that even though it actually contains 8 cantos, none of the four manuscripts that I have seen (two in Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras and two in Adyar Library) contains the 7th and the 8th cantos. They are found only in the Sahṛdaya Journal referred to already and they are without commentary whereas all the first six cantos are available with a commentary. Some people have expressed a doubt as to the authenticity of the 7th and 8th chapters. But Mādhavācārya, who quotes from the first six chapters of this work, has also quoted from the 7th and 8th as found in the Journal. I, therefore, hold that the two chapters are as authentic as the other six. This work has also since been published with all the 7 cantos by Śimili Śri Veṅkaṭarāma Sastri Trust, 1961 and has been edited and published by Vaidya S.V. Radhakṛṣṇa Śāstri, Śriraṅgam.

The story contained in this work mainly follows the other versions but narrates many important incidents in Śaṅkara's life with notable variations. These will be duly

26. The words are : श्रीराजचूडामणिदीक्षितस्य कृतिषु शंकराभ्युदयनाम्नि काव्ये.... ।

noticed and examined at their proper places.

6. We now come to शंकरविजयविलास by चिद्विलासयति. This work is reported to have been published in Telugu and Grantha characters[27] in the South, as early as 1876 A.D.[28] Prof. B. Upadhyaya also tells us that it was being published (in 1950 A.D.) in Nagari characters at Kāśī.[29] I am, however, working on a copy of the manuscript in the library of the Saṅkeśvar Mutt.

The work consists of 32 chapters and proceeds in the form of a dialogue between the author and his disciple Vijñānakanda. From their conversation, it appears that it was the practice of the author to recite or read a portion of Śaṅkara's life everyday.[30] The author, when requested by his disciple to narrate the life in full, told him that he would do so just as he had received it from his own guru, whose name, however, he does not mention. This little detail gives the work the backing of continued tradition.

One fails to understand the remark of the late Mr. Bodas[31] that like Vidyāraṇya (i.e. Mâdhavācārya), Cidvilāsa also belongs to the Sṛṅgeri tradition. It is true that even accotding to Cidvilāsa, Śaṅkara passed away at Badari in the Himalayas, just as is held by Mâdhava, but this single agreement is not sufficient to show that Cidvilāsa belonged to Sṛṇgeri tradition. There are many differences between his work and that of Mādhava.

Mr. T.S.N. Śāstri says[31a] that Cidvilāsa follows Citsukha's work. If so and if this second work is really what it claims to be (I shall discuss this point shortly), Cidvilāsa's work also will have to be respected better than the other works and also than how it has been treated so far. I shall have occasion to refer to this question also somewhat later.

This work also narrates important incidents in Śaṅkara's life with notable differences. It contains references to names of kings of different places. What importance to attach to them is a difficult point to decide.

7. We now turn to शंकरदिग्विजयसार by सदानन्द. The very name suggests that the work is an adaptation from some previous work. At the very beginning, the poet tells us that he had before him an अगाधशंकरदिग्ज, composed by previous Yatis and that he has tried to summaries the same for the purification of his mind.[32] At the end of the work also, the poet tells us that he has extracted the essence of the Śāṅkara - digjaya, composed by previous ācāryas.[33] We no doubt find that Sadānanda imports bodily into his work stanzas after stanzas from Mādhava's work and with very little or

27. See श्रीशंकराचार्य by Prof. B. Upadhyaya, p.11 and p.290.
28. See Śri Sṛṇgeri Sārada Mutt - by K.S. Sunderapiah - Addenda ('A').
29. See his श्रीशंकराचार्य p.11.
30. Vide शं.वि.वि. I:2.
31. शंकराचार्य व त्यांचा सम्प्रदाय v.9
31a. 'Age of Śaṅkara' - Part - I : Ch. III : p.37 Foot Note 21.
32. शं.वि. सार - Ch.I : 4

almost nothing new of his own finding or knowledge to tell, one even wonders as to why, at all, he undertook to write this poem, if he wanted merely to reproduce another work. It is, however, possible that he had before him some work other than Mādhava's S.Śaṅkara jaya. Perhaps he had before him the Bṛhat Śaṅkara Vijaya of Citsukha (I am going to show in Chapter IV that there is sufficient support for such an inference) or the same Pr.Ś.V. of Anandagiri, which Mādhava had and that he has tried to summarise that work and while doing so, has freely laid Mādhava under obligation. The Pūrvācārya in Chapter XVI : 135, also is better explained with this alternative for as I shall show in Chapter IV, Mādhava and Sadānanda were very near each other in time - perhaps contemporaneous and hence the reference to Pūrvācārya is better understood when related to some writer earlier than Mādhavācārya.

I have seen in the Sṛṇgeri Mutt Library a printed edition of this work with a commentary by Dhanapatisurin. The edition contains an introduction in Sanskrit and it describes the poet and his work in poetic terms.[34] From the description, we gather that (1) our poet was a greater scholar, (2) lived at Kāśī, (3) was a Sārasvata Brahmin, (4) was a worshipper of Lord Kṛṣṇa and (5) wrote at least two more works, viz., (1) भगवद्गीतामावप्रकाश a commentary and (2) an independent work प्रत्यक्तत्वचिन्तामणि. Prof. Upadhyaya adds the following to these two works :

(1) अद्वैतसिद्धिसिद्धान्तसार-सटीक	(2) स्वरूपनिर्णय
(3) महाभारततात्पर्यप्रकाश	(4) रामायणतात्पर्यप्रकाश
(5) महाभारतसारोद्धार सटीक	(6) दशोपनिषत्सार

The poem under consideration, contains 16 chapters upto Śaṅkara's passing away and a 17th Chapter is added as Anukramaṇī, summarising the main incidents described in the poem. The Anukramaṇī is said to be intended for facilitating the understanding of Śaṅkara's life.[35]

8. I shall now touch upon one minor poem called गुरुवंशकाव्य by काशी लक्ष्मणशास्त्रिम् of Sṛṅgeri, as it happens to be the last printed wori, on the subject in hand.

This work contains 19 cantos, the first seven of which have been printed in a book-form by the Vaṇi Vilāsa Press, Śrīrangam. Out of these seven, only the first three cantos relate to Śaṅkara's life and we have use for so many only. As the editor of this work says,[36] "It was found that there were several points of difference between the version of the life of Śri

33. Ibid. Chatper XVI : 135 - the stanzas runs : पूर्वाचार्यकृतं समीक्ष्य विततं सद्दिग्वजयं शांकरम् ।
तस्मात्सारमिमं यथामति मया निष्कृष्य शुद्धयै धियः ॥

34. Read : सत्स्वपि श्रीशंकरविजयवर्णनपरेषु प्रबन्धेषु श्रीकाशीक्षेत्रनिवासानन्दममन्दमनुभवद्भिः सारस्वतद्विजयशसरोहंसैः श्रीकृष्णचन्द्रचरणनख-चन्द्रचन्द्रिकाचकोरमानमानसैः निरवषपद्यपथरचना परिकलितभगवद्गीताभावप्रकाशाख्यध्याख्यैः प्रत्यक्तत्त्वचिन्तामणि निर्माणनिपुणताप्रख्यात-पवित्राख्यैः श्रीसदानन्दसमाख्यैः विद्वत्परिवृढैः श्रीशंकरविजयसारनामा प्रबद्धः कश्चित्पबन्धः

35. Compare : अथ शम्भुचरित्रस्य सुखज्ञानार्थमादितः ।
अनुक्रमणिका चात्र संक्षेपादुच्यते नृणाम् ॥ XVII : 1 शं.दि.सार.

Śaṅkarâcārya found in this book and that already known to the public from the Śaṅkara-Vijayas now extant."

The colophons refer to the work as a Mahā-kāvya.[37] It has been written by one Kāśī-Lakṣmaṇa-Śāstsrin, an āsthāna-pundit of the Sṛṅgeri-mutt, at the instance of Śrī Saccindānanda Bhāratī Swami, the then ruling chief of the mutt, on the strength of the information supplied to the author by His Holiness.

The text has been commented upon by the author himself and the commentary is known as Bhāva-bodhinī.[38]

The poet calls himself a Vidvad-bālaka and we can easily infer from this that he must have been a great pundit. One Śṛṅgeri mutt pundit did tell me so and also that he was very much in the good books of his Guru and hence the commission to him to write the present poem.

The printed material is over. Before actually going over to the manuscript works on the subject, I would like to mention a few manuscripts, which I have come across, relating to the works examined so far.

1. The first is what is called लघुशंकरदिग्विजय noticed in the Gaekawad's Oriental Series. On examination, I found that the manuscript was only a reproduction of the first 28 stanzas of Chapter XV of Mādhava;s S.Śaṅkara Vijaya, with the commentary of Dhanapati Surin upto p.548 of Ānandāśrama edition of the same work. The manuscript was written out by one named Viśvanātha, who has added a few stanzas[39] at the end. The manuscript is dated Samvat 1910 - 1853 A.D.

2. The second is an incomplete manuscript of the same work, from Adyar Library, Madras. It reproduces the first two chapters and 28 stanzas of the third chapter of Mādhava's work. Thereafter, the manuscript breaks up. It contains only 9 folios. It is not known whether the copyist gave up copying at this stage or only a fraction of an originally complete manuscript has come down to us. The first alternative seems more probable since one blank folio containing salutation to some deities is attached to the manuscript.

3. The Indian Museum Manuscripts Collection in the Royal Asiatic Society Library,

36. See Introduction, p.1.
37. Read : इति श्रीगुरुवंशे महाकाव्येऽष्टादशः सर्गः ॥
38. Read : स्वकीयगुरुवंशस्य व्याख्या लक्ष्मणशास्त्रिणा ।
संक्षेपेण सतां प्रीत्यै क्रियते भावबोधिनी ॥ - Introductory st.2
39. शंकरविजये ग्रन्थे शाक्तादिमतखण्डनम् । लिखितं विश्वनाथेन मान्यं सर्व सतां सदा ॥
दिवि भुवि च पाताले ब्रह्मलोके चतुर्मुखः । यद्भाष्यमननं सर्वे कुर्यन्ति ऋषयः सदा ॥

Calcutta, contains a third such manuscript bearing the name Śaṅkara Vijaya or Maṇḍana Pundit Vijaya. It is, however, no new work, being only a reproduction of the first 42 stanzas of Chapter VIII of Mādhava's biography of Śaṅkara.

4. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, contains a manuscript of what is called "आचार्यद्वादशक". The first stanza in the transcript-copy of the same says that it was the teacher who taught this poem in 12 stanzas to his disciple for daily recital.[40] The actual transcript, however, contains 10 stanzas only as against 12 mentioned in the stanza.

This poem also is found to be no independent composition but forms the concluding portion of Govindanatha's Ś. Caritam, wherein we get all the 12 stanzas as referred to in the transcript copy.

The Palace Saraswati Bhandaram, Mysore also contains a similar composition but it contains all the 12 stanzas and bears the slightly different name "शंकराचार्यद्वदशिका".

The object of taking out this last portion of 12 stanzas for daily recital can be easily understood but why the small portions of Mādhava's work were copied down in the first three cases is more than I can conjecture.

I shall now turn to the manuscript material.

1. The first work is आचार्यविजयचम्पू by वल्लीसहाय. Technically, it belongs to the Campū type of literature, being a mixture of prose and poetry. The poet often writes in a cumbrous and affected style and seems to be fond of word-effects. On account of these, we are reminded of Bānabhaṭṭa but not of his rolling fancy or his lofty imagination, which, at times, literally transports us to regions of great happiness and delight.

The work consists of 6 chapters or Kolāholas as they are called by the poet and treats of Saṅkara's life mainly with reference to his triumphant tour, which justifies the name given to the work. But the other incidents in Śaṅkara's life are most desultorily treated, some important incidents having been omitted altogether.

Like the work of Anant., this work also closelly follows the version as found in the 800 and odd stanzas quoted by Dhanapatisūrin. Most of the details are identical and therefore, it seems clear that the author followed either the Pr.Ś.V. or Ś.V. of Anant.

Regarding the poet himself, we only know from the colophons that he belonged to the Vādhūla Cotra and that he was a lion among poets (Kavisiṁha). He always salutes Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Nārāyaṇāryaguru. He also pays his homage to Lord Śiva, which seems to show that he was a worshipper of Śiva. The name of his Guru seems to be Nārāyaṇa or Nārāyaṇārya. From the information of the Sṛṅgeri Gurus, given at the end of the work, it

40. Read : अन्वहं पठितुं सर्वमाचार्यचरितं महत् ।
द्विषटकं चाथ पद्मानां शिष्यायोपदिवेश सः ॥ St.1

becomes clear that he was an adherent of the Sṛṅgeri Mutt. He was most evidently a southerner. Beyond these details, we do not know anything about him.

2. The next work is शंकरमन्दारसौरभ by नीलकण्ठ. This work also is of the Campū type and consists of 6 chapters or Tarangas. Except for minor variations the work is modelled after Mādhava's biography of Śaṅkara though it is not as elaborate.

At the end of the work the author gives us some information about his parents and grandparents. Thus, his grandfather was Cidghanānanda and grandmother was Anasūyā. His paternal uncle, Tryambaka, was a great scholar and attained fame by defeating many difficult opponents. His father also was a Visvadvara and was called Trivikrama while his mother's name was Pārvatī. He learnt Nyāya and Grammar from Gaṅgādhara while he also pays homage to Śaṅkarānanda-Sarasvatī, who appears to have been his spiritual preceptor. He has also saluted Śrīman-Narasimha-Bhāratī. He pays homage to Murāri and dedicates the work to Lord Kṛṣṇa, who appears to have been his deity of worship.[41]

We further learn that the author's younger brother has written a commentary called 'Samīra' on the work under consideration and he often refers to S.Śankara Vijaya of Mādhava. His guru also seems to have been Śaṅkarānanda-Sarasvatī, whom he praises and salutes in one stanza.[42] The author's father also composed in 1805 A.D. a work called पञ्चायुधप्रपञ्चधान

3. The third work is शंकराभ्युदय by तिरुमलदीक्षित, the first new work, procured by me from the Government O.R. Institute, Mysore. The work, as at present available, is incomplete. It contains 6 full chapters and breaks off in Chapter - VII after stanza 27. The colophons are the only source of our information about the author and they tell us that he belonged to the Bhāradvāja Gotra and that his father's name was Tirumala-Kondopādhyāya and that his Guru was Parama Śivendra.[43] This last fact is mentioned by him at Chapter 1 : Stanza 4 also.[44] In the first three stanzas, he salutes Lord Śiva, Sri Śaṅkara and Śri Rāma.

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41. Read : विद्वद्वरांस्त्रिविक्रमशर्मण आत्मीयपितृचरणान् ।
वन्दे सतीवरिष्ठां पार्वत्यभिधां च निजजननीम् ॥ शं.मं.सौ. VI : 114
गंगाधरनामभ्यां न्यायव्याकरणलाभो मे ।
तौ कारुण्यनिधी गुरू नित्यम् ॥
श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥ .... & c. VI : 115

42. Read : यद्वैदिकाः बोधयितुं सहस्रं शब्दाः प्रवृत्ता इति नेति नेति ।
तच्छङ्करानन्दसरस्वतीति ख्यातं परं दैवतमाश्रयामः ॥

43. The colophons read :
इति श्रीमद्भारद्वाजकुलजलधिचन्द्रश्रीतिरुमलकोण्डोपाध्यायतनयश्रीमत्परमशिवेन्द्रपादाब्जसेवा परायणश्रीतिरुमलदीक्षितविरचिते.... महाकाव्ये.... ।

44. The stanza runs : निजशिष्यजनाबोधस्तमस्तोमांशुमालिनः ।
शिवेन्द्रस्य प्रणुमश्चरणाम्बुजम् ॥ I : 4

45. स्तुतः कविभिरप्यस्मत्कृत्या तुष्यतु शंकरः । I : 7

We are told by the writer that previously, poets have described Śaṅkara's life,[45] though he does not mention any poet by name. He himself has undertaken the work for proclaiming the Advaitācārya-Sampradāya.[46] He has dealt with only a few facts relating to Śaṅkara's life.[47]

This work has been very greatly drawn upon by Mādhava while preparing his S. Śaṅkara Vijaya.

4. A very short work is शंकरविजयसंग्रह by पुरुषोत्तमभारती, also a new work, procured from the Government O.R. Institute, Mysore. Beyond that the writer salutes Lord Ganeśa in the first stanza and that he is describing the story of Śaṅkara's birth for the good of the people,[48] we are not able to get any information about the author. Even the name of the author does not appear anywhere. I have found it from the Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Mysore later.

The work runs into 6 chapters, out of which only the first five describe the story of Śaṅkara's life. The sixth chapter contains only an account of the various iṇcarnations of Lord Śiva from Kṛta Yuga to Kaliyuga.

The work mentions no previous source but in describing the disputation between Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana, the author seems to follow Mādhava. The rest of the narration, however, does not fall in line. The account, on the whole, is very original in many places and interesting though it does not seem to be reliable or tenable otherwise.

5. आचार्यविजयचम्पू by Parameśvara is the third new work, procured from the new Viśva Bhāratī collection of manuscripts, made by the Adyar Library, Madras. This work also technically belongs to the Campū type of literature, being a mixture of prose and poetry.

The work, as at present available, is incomplete and breaks off in the midst of its account of Śaṅkara entering the body of the king, in Chapter - V. Like Vallīsahāya, Parameśvara also seems to be fond of using cumbrous and recondite language. On the whole, he has followed Mādhava, whom he seems to have taken as his guide.[49] He seems to have a very great respect indeed for Mādhava, whom, it may be noted, he refers to as श्रीमाधव [50].

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46. Cf. अद्वैतदर्शनाचार्यसम्प्रदायप्रसिद्धये । शंकराभ्युदयं कुर्मः.... ॥ I:5.
47. Cf. तस्यावतारलीलासु कश्चिदाचक्ष्महे वयम् ॥ I : 8.
48. 1:3 reads : वदामि शंकराचार्यसमुत्पत्तिकथामहम् ।
हितार्थं सर्वलोकानां शृण्वतां पापनाशनम् ॥
49. CF. श्रीमाधवीयमालोच्य क्रियतेऽद्य मयाऽनघम्
आचार्यविजयाख्याकं चम्पुकाव्यं मुदेऽस्तु वः ॥ I : 8
50. श्रीमाधवो यः कृतशंकरस्तुतिः । द्विजेन्द्रसंपूजितपादपङ्कजेन्द्रः ।
श्रुतिप्रमोदामृतदायिवैभव । भव्याय नित्यं मम बोभमवीतु नः ॥ I : 7

In stanzas 4 to 11 of Chapter - I, the poet gives us some information about himself. Thus, he tells us that the name of his father and Guru was Śrī Devarāja. The father seems to have been a greatly learned person and also well advanced spiritually. The poet refers to him as ब्रह्मज्ञानपर[51] and विश्वजनीनविद्य[52]. He also tells us that this Śrī Devarāja was surrounded by disciples.[53] This poet, unlike Mādhava, seems to be a modest person, with no special claim to proficiency in Grammar, logic or art of poetry.[54] The colophons give his name as Śrī Kavikaṇṭhirava Parameśvara and the name of his work as Ācāryavijayakhyāna. It seems, the poet belonged to Samkṛti Gotra.[55] This is all the information we get about the author and his work.

6. We now come to quite a new work called बृहच्छङ्करविजय by ब्रह्मानन्दसरस्वती. I was able to see at Kumbakonam the Devanāgarī copy of the original work, which was reported to be in Grantha characters.[56] I have made some extracts from this copy and these extracts form the main basis of my statements regarding this work and its contents. After repeated attempts, I failed to persuade the owner of it to give me a copy of the complete work.

The work is in two parts and consists of a total number of 105 chapters. The first part contains the life-account proper of Śaṅkara and is made up of 25 chapters. The second part contains 80 chapters and deals with Śaṅkara's Digvijaya, during the course of which he overcome as many as 72 different schools of thought. The total number of stanzas in the work is said to be 10,000,[57] but the owner of it told me that actually the work contained only about 8,500 stanzas.

The work proceeds in the form of a conversation between Brahmānanda Saraswatī, who is referred to as the direct disciple of the famous Sarvajñātmamuni, who is turn is referred to as the disciple of Sureśvara and Yogānanda, a disciple of Brahmānanda. Yogānanda notices that every day, at the conclusion of his worship of Candramouliśvara and Ratnagarbha-Vināyaka, Brahmānanda reads with great respect (Samādarāt) from some book. Yogānanda, therefore, asks him what that book is. Brahmananda tells him that his Guru, Sarvajñātman had told him the life of Lokācarya i.e. Śaṅkara and that he

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51. I:5
52. I:5
53. I:6 (अन्तेवासिभिरावृतम् ।)
54. I:6 First line
55. I:6 First line
56. When I asked the owner of this work about the source thereof, he told me he had procured it from one Mr. Herambaśāstrin of Yogīndra Mutt at Morgaon, near Poona. When I contacted this gentleman in Poona itself and asked him about it, he altogether denied its knowledge as well as the report.
57. Cf. न शक्यते मया वक्तुमस्य माहात्म्यमुत्तमम् ।
अयुतग्रन्थयुक्तस्य नानातत्त्वयुतस्य च ॥

had written it down in the book, [58] from which he reads daily at the end of his worship. Then, at the special request of Yoānanda, Brahmānanda narrates to him the life of Śaṅkara in details and thus we have the present work from his pen,.

7. The next is another new work शंकराचार्यमहिमा by बालगोपालयतीन्द्र procured from the Trivandrum Mss. Library. This work alsi is incomplete and runs into 24 and odd chapters. The 25th chapter breaks off in the midst of Śaṅkara-Maṇḍaṇa discussion.

Even though we have 24 and odd chapters before us, hardly 4 of them have actually anything to do with the life of Śaṅkara. The first 20 chapters and the first 100 stanzas of Chapter XXI deal with matters like the relative importance of Jñāna and Karman, importance of the human body, development of embryo in the mother's womb and so forth - totally unconnected with the life of Śaṅkara or his Mahimā which gives the work its name. As can be judged from what is before us today, even the original complete work could not have contained more than 10 chapters after the 25th one, to finish the remaining story of Śaṅkara's life. The portion relating to Śaṅkara's life is narrated with important variations. The name of the work - 'Śankarācārya-mahimā - the writer seems to justify by making some queer and uncalled for references to his name and by trying to indicate his greatness in some neomystical and abstruse fashion.

The work begins with a discussiion between some king Kulaśekhara and a Yogin and ultimately it appears that the whole of the episode is being narrated by someone, whose identity is not quite clear, to one Mānavikrama Bhūpati. The author's name does not appear anywhere except in the colophons and as the work is incomplete, we fail to learn anything about him, beyond his name.

8. Another biography is Śaṅkarācāryacarita, ascribed to Anantakavi, in the Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Palace Sarasvati Bhāṇḍāram, Mysore. On a perusal, however, of a copy of the same, procured from the same Bhāṇḍāram, it is found that it nowhere gives this name of the author. All the colophons give the name as Govindanātha and the work also is found to be the same as Śaṅkarācārya-charita or Keralīya Śaṅkara Vijaya of this Govindanātha. Nothing more, therefore, need be said about the work or its author.

This brings me to the end of the printed and manuscript biographies, that have become available to me so far. All the biographies generally give a common account of Śaṅkara's life and it is as follows :

Vidyādhirāja was a learned Brahmin, living at Kālaḍī and had a son named Śivaguru. This son also became learned and thereafter was married to some girl from a respectable family. Unluckily, however, the couple had no issue and hence by mutual agreement they performed severe penance to propitiate Lord Śiva. The Lord was pleased and in

58. Read. सर्वज्ञात्मा मम गुरुः लोकाचार्यचरित्रकम् ।
उपादिशच्च मह्यं तु, विलिख्य पुस्तके च तत् ॥

accordance with their desire, blessed them with a short-lived but an omniscient son. He was named Śaṅkara. He began to learn things very early and by his fifth year, was ready for Vedic studies. The father had expired by that time and hence his relatives performed his thread-ceremony nad sent him to some Guru's place for studying the Vedas. With his miraculous talents, he mastered everything in about two years and returned home. His mother desired him to become a householder while he desired to become a Sannyāsin but the mother would not agree. One day, therefore, when he was bathing in the Cūrṇī river and his foot was caught by a crocodile, he got his mother to permit him to become a sannyāsin and with that permission, he left his house in search of a Guru. He went to Govindamuni on the banks of the Narmadā. Govindamuni duly initiated him into Sannyāsa and made him self-realised. Some time thereafter, he bade Śaṅkara go to Kāśi to propagate Advaita philosophy by writing commentaries on the prasthāna-traya and defeating the other theorists in the field. Śaṅkara accordingly went to Kāśi and wrote his famous commentaries which he began to expound to disciples, who now began to come to him for initiation and instruction. Śaṅkara's first disciple was Sanandana who later became Padmapāda. During this stay, he had an encounter with Bādarāyaṇa Vyasa, in connection with his commentary on the Brahma-Sūtras. Sometime after this, he had encounters with Kumārila, immolating himself in chaff-fire and Maṇḍana, the latter of whom he defeated in argument at the end of a long discussion. Śaṅkara overcame Maṇḍana's wife also by performing the miracle of entering the dead body of a king and experiencing the science of love with the ladies of the harem. Thereafter, he toured the whole country, overcoming many opponents in argument and establishing and propagating the Advaita philosophy. In the meanwhile, he had also to attend to his dying mother and to perform her obsequies. He established mutts at the four main corners of India and had various works written by his disciples like Padmapāda and Sureśvara. During this period, he acquired two more disciples, viz., Hastāmalaka and Totaka. Towards the end of his life, he went to Kāśi, where he was visited and blessed by Gauḍapāda. Thence, Śaṅkara went to Kāśmira, where he ascended the Sarvajña-pītha and immediately thereafter, he went to the Himalayas, where he gave up his human body and went back to his divine Abode - Kailāsa.

After thus dealing with the main biographical evidence, actually available to us today, I wish to record my findings in respect of the two works viz.

(1) बृहच्छङ्करविजय of Citsukhācarya and (2) प्राचीन-शङ्करविजय of Ānandagiri, referred to at the very beginning of this chapter. Even though these works are not available to us today, I feel confident that such works did exist till recently and since they are considered very old works and hence important, I feel it is my duty to state my findings in respect of them.

(1) Mr. T.S. Nārāyaṇa Śāstrin says very clearly in his book 'Age of Śaṅkara'[59] that the first work viz., बृहच्छङ्करविजय of Citsukha consisted of three parts viz., (1) पूर्वाचार्यसत्पथ (2) शङ्करचार्यसत्पथ and (3) सुरेश्वराचार्यसत्पथ, out of which he himself was able to procure only a mutilated copy of the second part viz., Śaṅkarācārya Satpatha. The other two parts were not available to him and even the second part is not available today. Mr. Śāstrin gives us the following information about the author and the work itself.[60]

In the Upoddhāta-prakarana of the second part, the author viz., Citsukha says that he was a native of Gokhrṇa in the Kerala State. He became acquainted with Śaṅkara while he was a boy of five years only, reading in the Gurukula. Thenceforward, he followed Śaṅkara when the latter went in search of a Guru and never departed from him until he i.e. Śaṅkara laid down his body at Kāñcī in the temple of Kāmākṣi. Citsukha was older than Śaṅkara by five years and was thus an eye-witness of his life and doings almost from start to finish.

Citsukha's original name was Viṣṇuśarman and it was Śaṅkara himself, who, at his special request, initiated him into the order of Sannyasins and named him Citsukha. Citsukha has described this incident at the end of the गुर्वष्टक he composed in praise of Śaṅkara, who, at his request, also composed अध्यात्मसंन्यासविधि and वेदान्तडिण्डिम.

This same Citsukha later ascended the Dwārkā-Pītha as the successor of Śri Brahmasvarūpācārya and passed away 24 years thereafter, at the ripe old age of eighty years.

Citsukha's work is also called Guruvijaya and gives the various works written by Śaṅkara including the devotional and other poems (stotras) with their occasion, time and place. The smaller works, particularly the poems, are given in full while the longer ones have only been mentioned.

This is the direct information about the work from a person, who claims to have possessed at least a third part of the same. I shall now state and examine other references to this work in different works.

1. The Udāsīna Sanskrit Vidyālaya, Kāśi, has recently published an edition of Citsukha's Tattva-pradīpikā. In the introduction (Bhūmikā), the editor, while speaking of the other works of Citsukha, says that 'he had also written one biography of Śaṅkara and portions thereof are available here and there.[61]

59. Vide Part I : Chapter III - p. 37.
60. Ibid., p.37 above.
61. His words are :
"चित्सुखाचार्य ने एक शङ्करविजय भी बनाया था। इनका कुछ अंश यत्र तत्र पाया जाता है।"
Introduction - p. 15. When, however, I contacted this editor and asked him about these portions, he told me that he had just picked up the reference from some book, the name of which he could not give me.

It is to be noted that even like Mr. T.S.N. Śāstrin, this editor makes the mistake of confusing the two writers of Citsukhi and Bṛhat Śaṅkara Vijaya. The first work refers to Udayana, who is said by scholars to have flourished after the 9th or 10th century A.D. and as such, if Citsukha of Br. Ś.V. is to be a contemporary of Śaṅkara, he must be considered to be different from the author of Citsukhī.

2. The editor of Vyāsācala's Śaṅkara Vijaya refers to Br.Ś.V. as the 9th biography of Śaṅkara.[62]

3. Prof. B. Upādhyāya also, in his list of biographies of Śaṅkara refers to a manuscript of Br. Ś.V. of Citsukha[63] but when I asked him personally about the source of his knowledge, he only said he did not remember. All this shows that none of these three persons has tried to trace such an important work. They have merely repeated the references to it they picked up in some book.

It is surprising that Prof. Upadhyaya after noting such a distinct work, has also ascribed a work of the same name to Ānandajñana or Ānandagiri.[64] It may be said that he has only followed the commentater (the name of the commentator is Acyutarāya and not Dhanapatisurin as stated by Prof. Upadhyaya), who has said the same thing. I am, however, going to show presently that this same commentator has unmistakably attributed Pr. Ś.V. to Ānandagiri as Ānandajñāna and as such he has evidently made a mistake by confusing Citsukha and Ānandagiri as Anandajñāna. The learned professor has thus followed the commentator in a mistake.

All this seems to be unsatisfactory evidence but we get much more concrete evidence from two or three sources.

1. Suṣamā, a commentary on Gururatnamālika, the list of Gurus of Kāñcī - Kāmakoṭi Pītha, distinctly refers to and quotes from Bṛ.Ś.V. of Citsukha and the portion covered by its quotations agrees with the version of the same work, as supplied to us by Mr. T.S.N. Śāstrin. The descripton of Citsukha himself[65] as given by this commentary, also tallies eminently with that given by Mr. Śāstrin, already stated. It cannot also be said that one of the two derived the information from the other, for, both give ample quotations from the same work but the quotations refer to different occasions. If the same quotations had appeared in both, there would have been some ground for the argument. Moreover, the quotations in Suṣamā are not sufficient for a reconstruction of Śaṅkara's life, as narrated by Mr. Śāstrin, on lines, altogether different from those found in the later biopractical works.

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62. Introduction - p.ii. When asked about the source of his information, he simply referred me to p.336 of Sri Kṛaṇamāchāri's History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, which work does no more than mentioining the name of the work

63. Vide श्रीशङ्कराचार्य p.90 and p.290.

64. Vide Ibid., p.10.

65. Cf....." अनुक्षणमुपचरिताचार्यचरणाः सर्ववृत्तान्तसाक्षिणः..... आजीवमविरहयुजः
श्रीसर्वशचित्सुखाचार्याः (स्वकृतौ बृहच्छङ्करविजये).... Comm. on st.14 of G.R.M.

Lastly, against the express statement of Mr. Śāstri that he had with him, a mutilated copy of the original work in question on which he was working, to say that the whole fabric he has woven in the published portion of his book 'Age of Śaṅkara' is of his own conception and concoction is a feat of logical daring for which I am not ready. I prefer to believe in his statement and the quotations he has given from time to time and one such quotation adds another piece of evidence to establish very strongly the existsence of Br.Ś.V.

2. I have already stated that Sadānanda, on his own statement, had before him an अगाधशाङ्करदिग्वजय and that Cidvilāsa was narrating what was transmitted to him by his Guru. Mr. Śāstri, who had all the three works before him, tells us that these two later biographers have followed Citsukha's work, more or less, though, as I have said, Sadānanda deviates from Citsukha more than otherwise. In this connection, the following circumstance is worth noting.

While describing the encounter between Kumārila and Śaṅkara, Mr. Śāstri quotes a passage of full 29 stanzas, as from the Br.Ś.V. of Citsukha, in which (passage), Kumārila is said to give an account of his own life to Śaṅkara. Sadānanda and Cidvilāsa repeat in the same context, many of these stanzas almost verbatim, of course omitting many and making small but very important alterations in those they have adopted. The correspondence between Citsukha and Sadānanda and Citsukha and Cidvilāsa is too obvious to be overlooked. The important difference is that the Jainas and Vardhamāna Mahavīra of Citsukha are replaced by Bauddhas and Bauddha Guru in Sadānanda and Cidvilāsa. The correspondence, however, is overwhelming and proves that such a work like Br.Ś.V. must have existed, that Mr. Śāstri must have had such a work with him, that he has quoted from such a work and that, therefore, the quotations are not fabrications of his imagination. It is, therefore, my submission that it is safe to rely on Mr. Śāstri's statements and quotations, directly or indirectly referring to Br.Ś.V. and draw reasonable conclusions, subject, of course, to confirmation and correction if and when the original work of Citsukha comes to light.

2. The second is प्राचीनशङ्करविजय of Ānandajñana alias Ānandagiri. This work also is quoted from by many but not available in the original so far. Yet, there are unmistakable traces of its existence till some time ago. The various pieces of evidence are :

(i) While discussing the Śaṅkara Vijaya of Anantānandagiri, I have shown that the author was distinct from Ānandagiri, on whose work (Pr. Ś.V.) he has most probably basd his own. Mr. Śāstri also clearly distinguishes between the two.[66] He also seems to have had this Pr.Ś.V. with him and he often quotes from it and quotes approvingly, as being in agreement with the work of Cit., to whom, however, he certainly gives the palm.

66. See his 'Age of Śaṅkara' p.10, Part - I.

(ii) Suṣamā too, profusely quotes from this same Pr. Ś.V., just as it does from Cit.'s work.

A curious coincidence to note in this connection is that though, generally Suṣamā and Mr. Śāstri quote altogether different stanzas, either from Cit. or from Ānand., one stanza,[67] relating to the derivation of the name of Govindamuni, Śaṅkara's Guru, is noted by them in common.

(iii) We get clearer evidence from Mādhava's work and the two commentaries thereon.

Firstly, Mādhava expressly refers to Pr.Ś.V., in the very first stanza[68] of his work which, he says, is going to be a summary of that earlier work. In the absence of the original Pr.Ś.V., it is difficult to say how far he has kept to his object. But one slight circumstance seems to lend support to the correctness of his statement. While describing the creation of a hot water lake by Śaṅkara for his Guru Gpvomdamuni, Mr. Śāstri quotes two stanzas[69] in that connection as from Pr. Ś.V. of Ānand. Mādhava repets both these stanzas in his own work as Chapter XIV:101 and 102 but substitutes the work शिष्यसंघ for देशिकस्य in that first stanza. The context and substance in Mādhava are also different but except this one alteration, both the stanzas are copied verbatim. Which of the two versions is likely to be true I have discussed later but such changes are quite in the line of Madhava's method of drawing up his own work.

We get much more definite information on this point from the commentary अद्वैतराज्यलक्ष्मी by Acyutarāya Modak, on Mādhva's work. (i) While commenting on the 1st stanza quoted above from Mādhava's work, Acyutrāya very clearly identifies Prāncīna Śaṅkara Jaya as Pr. Ś.V., written by Ānandajñana alias Ānandagiri, the disciple of Śuddhānanda and the writer of commentaries on Śaṅkara's Bhāṣyas.[70] (ii) Similarly, while commenting on XV:3 (अनार्यान् इति) of Mādhava's work, the same commentator says that the amplified version of the story (एतत्प्रपञ्च) should be seen in the work by Ānandajnāna alias Ānandagiri, the disciple of Śudhananda, which is the basis of the present work (of Mādhava).[71] (iii) At XVI:103 again, after quoting Chapter XVI of 9th Aṁśa of Śiva-

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67. The stanza runs : सततं निगदन्नरसेन योऽसौ जय गोविन्द जयेति सूक्तिमेकाम् ।
श्रितमौनमभूयदन्यवादे जयगोविन्दमुनिं तदाहुरेनम् ॥

68. Cf. प्राचीनशङ्करजये सारः संगृह्यते स्फुटम् । I:1

69. The stanzas are : तमातिशीतार्दितदेशिकस्य संरक्षणायातुलितप्रभावः ।
तप्तोदकं प्रार्थयते स्म चन्द्रकलाधरातीर्थकरप्रधानः ॥
कर्मन्दिवृन्दपतिना गिरिशोऽर्थितः सन् सन्तप्तवारिलहरीं स्वपदारविन्दात् । प्रायर्तयत्प्रथयती यतिनाथकीर्तिं याऽद्यापि तत्र समुदञ्चति तप्ततोया ॥

70. Read : प्राचीनेति । ये हि सूत्रमाष्यादिटीकाकाराः शुद्धानन्दपूज्यपादशिष्यभगवदानन्दज्ञानाख्याः आनन्दगि-रित्वेन प्रसिद्धाः तद्रचितो यः प्रकृतग्रन्थात्प्राचीन-श्चिरन्तनः शङ्करविजयस्तत्रेत्यर्थः ॥

71. Read :
'एतत्प्रपञ्चस्तु एतन्मूलीभूते शुद्धानन्दभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्यश्रीमदानन्दज्ञानापराभिधानन्दगिरिविरचिते बृहच्छङ्करविजये यथा ॥

rahasya in connection with Śaṅkara's passing away, he clearly refers to the Br. Ś.V. by Ānandagiri.[72]

(iv) While commenting on other stanzas also, Acyutarāya names either the author or the work or both. Thus, (a) at I:3, he explains the 'previous poet' by the author of the Śaṅkara Vijaya, already defined.[73] (b) He refers to Pr. Ś.V. in the prefatory words to I:5[74] (c) While commenting upon I:28 and I:85.6, he refers to Śaṅkara Vijaya by Ānandagiri and to Pr. Ś.V. respectively and gives quotations from that same work. (d) I have already referred to the remarks of Acyutarāya on XV:3 and thereafter, he quotes as many as 58 stanzas as from that work specifically.

All these details seems to show beyond doubt that not only a work called Pr. Ś.V. by Anandajñana alias Ānandagiri existed but that it was before the commen-tator Acyutarāya in 1850 A.D. and that he used it while writing his commentary on Mādhava's work.

Two difficulties aries here. They are :

(1) As I have already stated while discussing Ānantanandagiri's Ś.V., inspite of the fact that Acyutarāya refers in very clear terms to Pr.Ś.V. by name and its author Ānandajñana alias Ānandagiri, the disciple of Śuddhānanda...& c., also by name and quotes as from this Pr.Ś.V., he seems to identify the two writers. Thus (1) while explaining the word शाङ्करवाक्यसार at I:2 of Mādhava's work, he explains शाङ्कर as Ānant.[75] (2) As if this were doubtful, he clearly refers to this Pr.Ś.V. as Ānanda's work in 74 chapters,[76] and even goes to the length of saying that as a matter of fact, this Ś.V. is really not prācīna at all but only a recent one.[77]

This indeed is a hard thing to explain. It is most clear that none of the quotations he has given as from Pr.Ś.V. is to be found in the present Ś.V. of Ānant.

The distinct nature of the two personalities is not only well established but seems to have been clear to Acyutarāya also and yet he confounds the two writers and their works.

(2) The second is that even though he refers to Pr.Ś.V. as the work written by Ānandajñana alias Ānandagiri... & c. in his commentary on the earlier chapters of Mādhava's work, he refers to the work of this same author as

72. Read : 'एतत्कथाजालं बृहच्छङ्करविजये एव श्रीमदानन्दतानाख्यानन्दगिरिविरचिते द्रष्टव्यमिति दिक् ॥
Comm.on XVI:103 N.B. All the three quotations are from Acyutaraya's comm.

73. Read : 'प्राक्वविरत्र निरुक्तशङ्करविजयकृदेव ।'' I : 3

74. Read : 'नन्वेवमपि प्राचीनशङ्करविजयस्यैव सारोद्धारेण कस्तव लाभ इति....।''

75. Read : ''शाङ्करेति । शङ्करस्य भगवतः भाष्यकारस्याऽयं शाङ्करः अनन्तानन्दगिर्यभिधः पूर्वोदाहृतवचनादेव तत्प्रशिष्यस्य... ॥'' on I : 2

76. Read : ''नन्विदं वर्णनं अनन्तानन्दीये प्राचीनशङ्करविजये चतुःसप्ततिप्रकरणेषु कुत्राऽपि नोपलभ्यते ॥ Comm. on I: 99.

77. Read : ''वस्तुतस्तु अनन्तानन्दगिरिकृतोऽसौ शाङ्कविजयः प्रकृताच्छ्रीमाधवाचार्यविरचिताच्छङ्करविजयात्प्राचीन एव न भवति, किन्तु नवीन एव ॥'' Ibid.

Br.Ś.V., in his commentary on chapters XV and XVI (passages already quoted). This confusion also is not easily explained.

One thing, however, seems certain that the commentaror had before him two distinct works on Śankara's life and that he has quoted from Pr.Ś.V. which is quite different from Anant.'s work which does not contain the quotations ascribed to the former. The second confusion also points to the existence of a more ancient and voluminous work by Ānandagiri though perhaps it has been misnamed. This view is confirmed by the following finding also.

Mādhava, we know, is epitomising Pr. Śaṅkara Vijaya. Chapter XV of his work deals with Śaṅkara's triumphant tour. Dhanapatisurin quotes 58 stanzas, 402 stanzas and 351 stanzas respectively in his commentary on stanza 2, stanza 4 and stanza 28 of this chapter, with the common introductory remark "अत्र इदमवधेयम्" and ends with the remarks """एतत्सर्वं संग्रहेण दर्शयति" (stanza 2), "तदेतत्संक्षिप्तोक्तं स्ववश इत्यादिना" (stanza 4) and "तदेतत्सर्वं संक्षिप्थाऽह" (stanza 28). From this, it seems that according to Dhanapatisurin, the stanzas quoted were the relevant portions of Pr. Śaṅkara Vijaya, that were summarised by Mādhava, in those particular stanzas. But we are not left only to surmise. I have already quoted the passage from Acyutarāya's commentary on XVI:3, stating that the amplified version of the story mentioned in this stanza should be read in the work of Ānandajñana...& c. which is the basis of this work. Thereafter, Acyutarāya quotes the very 58 stanzas as from that work as are quoted by Dhanapatisurin in his commentary on stanza 2 of Chapter XV. This establishes, not only that these 58 stanzas pertained to Ānanda.'s Pr.Śaṅkara Vijaya but the other 402 and 351 stanzas quoted by Dhanapati also belonged to the same work. None of these passages forms part of Ānant.'s work. The conclusion, therefore, seems irresistible that the two commentators of Mādhaa.'s work had before them the work of Ānandagiri, which formed the basis of Mādhava's work and which Mādhava claimed to summarise.

The object of dilating upon these two works is two-fold.

(1) During my tour in search of material for this thesis, I came across important personages who declared that no such works existed at any time and the so called quotations from and references to them were not at all reliable. Since this thesis pertains to a comparative examination of the biographies of Śaṅkara, I felt it my duty to record what conclusions I had reached in respect of these two works, which were reported to be existing till recently, which were regarded as very important being very early compositions and which were quoted from by different writers at different times. I think, I have successfully established the fact of their existence at some early period.

(2) Susamā quotes profusely from both these works and if the quotations can be proved genuine, much help can be derived from them for reconstructing Śaṅkara's life. Scholars generally discredit this commentary and particularlly the

quotations as not reliable for historical purposes. It may be said that though Pr. Ś.V. or Br.Ś.V. may be proved to have existed, there is nothing to prove that the quotations as from these two works in any other work relates truly to these two works as claimed, so long as these two works are not available for inspection and verification. I do admit the force of this argument and yet submit that once the existence of the two works is proved beyond dount, we can be justified in attaching at least prima facie importance to such quotations, subject, of course, to correction if and when the two works come to light. The same argument applies to Mr. Śāstri's 'Age of Sankara' and the quotations given by him, mainly as from Br. Ś.V. of Citsukha. This is also my explanation and justification for the wide use I have made of both these viz., Syṣamā and Mr. Śāstri's work for this thesis.

One or two things deserve notice.

Prof. Upadhyāya says that Dhanapati has quoted 1350 stanzas in his commentary on stanzas 2, 4 and 28 as 581, 402 and 351 respectively.[78] He refers to the Ānandāśrama Edition of Mādhava's work, which gives the numbers of the quoted stanzas as 58, 402 and 351 respectively, thus making up a total of 811 stanzas quoted by Dhanapati. How he comes by the figure 581 on stanza 2 is not understood.

Secondly, after stating clearlly that the Br. Ś.V. of Ānandajñana alias Ānandagiri was not available anywhere, he records it as his opinion that'whatever it may be, he was living in the 12th century of Vikrama Era and that this work appears to be the oldest and authoritative....[79]. Once more, I fail to understand how the learned professor could make such statements in respect of a person or his work about whom nothing definite is known to him. Moreover, if the work of this author is to be the oldest, what about Br. Ś.V. of Citsukha, which he has referred to twice in his lists of biographies of Śaṅkara?[80] Mr. Śāstri definitelly says that he had the work with him and that Citsukha was Śaṅkara's contemporary. According to Prof. Upādhyāya himself, Ānandajñāna alias Ānandagiri came long after Śaṅkara.[81] It is such wishful thinking and unsupported statements which have risen to the position of axiomatic truths of later date and thus played a large part in distorting the picture of true history.

This discussion finishes the main material under the first of the three heads mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Regarding the other two heads, not much need be added.

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78. Vide श्रीशङ्कराचार्य - p.10.

79. Ibid., p.10.
''जो कुछ भी हो, इनका समय निश्चितप्राय है कि विक्रम की 12 वी शताब्दी में ये अवश्य विद्यमान थे। यह ग्रन्थ आजकल कहीं भी उपलब्ध होता। कालक्रम के अनुसार यह ग्रन्थ सबसे प्राचीन तथा प्रामाणिक प्रतीत होता है ॥''

80. Ibid., p.9 and p.292.   81. Ibid., p.158.

(2) Thus, we are told by Mr. Śāstri that we get brief reference to Śaṅkara's wonderful life in works like गौडपादोल्लास, हरिमिश्रीय, हयग्रीववध, मणिप्रभा, बृहद्राजतरङ्गिणी, पतञ्जलिचरितम्, गुरुरत्नमालिका, सुषमा, विमर्श & c. Of these, I have seen and procured the last four and particularly used Suṣamā, a commentary on Gururatnamālikā, a list of the Gurus of Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha. Guru. is written by the 58th head of the said Pīṭha and Suṣamā by the 60th head thereof. Suṣama is particularly useful on account of the profuse quotations it gives from Br.Ś.V. and Pr. Ś.V. of Citsukha and Ānanda. respectively, in addition to those from other works also, like Vyāsācalīyam, Keralīya Ś.V. & c.

We also get hostile references to Śaṅkara's life in Jinavijaya, Madhavijaya and Maṇimanjarī. Out of these, I was not able to trace the first inspite of my best and most concentrated efforts. The other two are a product of sectarian hatred and represent Śaṇkara as an incarnation of the Demon Maṇimān and as having been born of an unchaste Brahmin woman & c.

We get short accounts of Śaṅkara's kife in Siva-Rahasya, Mārkaṇḍeya Samhita and other Purāṇas also, like Matsya, Kūrma, Linga, Vāyu, Bhaviṣya, & c. In most of these works, Śaṅkara is referred to as a future incarnation of Lord Śiva. The last chapter of the well-konwn religious vernacular poem Śivalīlāmṛta gives a very queer account of Śaṅkara's life, particularly his encounter with Maṇḍaṇa. All this information has been used as and when possible and necessary.

(3) Under the third head, come works written by modern writers in different languages and based on one or more of the ten biographies mentioned by Mr.Śāstri. Of these, Mr. Śāstri's work 'Age of Śaṅkara alone deserves particular notice. He definitely had Br.Ś.V. of Citsukha on which he has based his account of Śaṅkara's life and most probably the Pr. Ś.V. of Ānand. The rest of the works - eight in number - also he seems to have had. Unfortunately, his book is incomplete but in the published portion, he recounts the life of Śaṅkara upto the point of his encounter with Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, as narrated by Citsukha in his Br.Ś.V. from which he has furnished quotations from time to time. At places, he also refers to the variant versions of Mādhava, Sadānanda, Cidvilāsa, & c. by way of comparison but that is neither exhaustive nor the main aim of his book. I have used Citsukha's version of Śaṅkara's life, as given in this book, while discussing Śaṅkara's life account and many other points connected therewith.

There are many other works on Śankara's life, in English, Marathi and Hindi but almost all of them have mainly followed Mādhava's version of Śaṅkara's life and not more 5 or 6 works at the most (Prof. B. Upādhyaya alone had seen six works - the rest not more than four) out of the 16 that I have used for this thesis, were available to any one of them. They have also not subjected the available biographies to th type of comparative and critical examination that is attempted in this thesis.

Chapter - III

THE ESSENTIALS AND EVALUATION OF A BIOGRAPHY

From what has been set forth in the preious chapter, it will be clear that the main data, which is the subject-matter of the present thesis, consists of so many biographies of Śaṅkara. That is what they are intended by their authors to be.[1] Before going into an examination of these works and their merits, it is necessary to see what a biography is and ought to be, what are its chief elements and characteristics, what material goes into the making of a good biography and how to evaluate a given biographical work. Only after we have settled these points, we can embark upon a critical and comparative analysis of the various biographies, we have before us.

The Oxford Dictionary defines biography as "the history of the lives of individual men as a branch of literature." The definition insists upon three essential elements, Viz. (i) history (ii) individual and (iii) literature.

The primary essential of a pure biography is historical truth, by which is meant not merely the avoidance of misstatements but the wider varacity of complete and accurate portraiture. The biographer must preserve an ideal of scientific honesty. Honesty in strictly adhering to truth at all costs is one of its essentials. The biographer must try to evolve his central figure from the mass of evidence before him and be prepared to face any picture he gets out of the same. If he feels that he cannot draw a faithful picture, consistently with his own predilections in the matter or with the requirements of the reading public, he had better forbear writing altogether, rather than suggest untruth. There must be a courageous search for truth and a readiness to accept the results of such a search. Biography, however, cannot be treated like physics or chemistry. It is mainly concerned with an individual and with moments which can never be captured again, whereas science admits of repeated experiment and hence a verification of an experience,

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1. Compare

(i) ईदृशं शङ्कराचार्यचरितामृतमद्भुतम् । — Keraliya I:48 gov.'s Śaṅ. Ca. 1:50

(ii) शङ्करांशेन जातस्य भगवत्पादयोगिनः ।
अवतारचरित्रं त्वं... वद ॥ — बृ.शं.चि. by ब्रह्मा.सर. I.1

(iii) शङ्कराचार्यचरितं भक्तितः पठ्यते त्वया । — I:26
पवित्रं तच्चरित्रं तु श्रोतुं मेऽस्ति कुतूहलम । — I:3a
शङ्करविजयविलास by चिद्विलास

both of which are denied to biography. The truth of history is of a kind totally different from that which is pursued by the chemist or the physicist.

This does not mean that biography is the same as history. The difference between the two can be briefly stated thus : The biographer takes an individual man as a central figure and makes the events of the period begin and end with him. History considers the individual, only in relation to the surrounding circumstances and merely shows us his points of contact with general events. The biographer, therefore, has to keep history in the background and treat great events only in so far as they are necessary for the understanding of the development of the central character.

Truth, thus, at least for our present purpose, is almost the essential of a good biography. Even though it may be impossible in history - and so also in a biography - to arrive at scientific truth, "out of which", as Sir Sydney Loe would have liked to put it, "all vapour of falsehood has been pressed our by the weight of research," it is enough as well as necessary to arrive at what may be called historical truth. Apart from a finding of facts, that will satisfy the historian's sense of history, even for the book to have any educative value, the story that the biography tells must conform to facts. "The value of every story", says Dr. Johnson, "depends on its being true. A story is a picture either of an individual or of human nature in general. If it is false, it is a picture of nothing."

There is an opinion that the greatness of a character comes home the more closely in proportion as we feel the character to be human and akin to our own. The average western mind is naturally averse to the acceptance of the miraculous or something above common humanity. It dismisses it, almost immediately, as mythical and legendary. As Sir Walt Whitman remarks, "how very different every fellow must have been from the fellow we come upon in the myths. National heroes are often spoilt by the poeple who think they can improve on God Almighty's work." This remark may be true when applied to particular cases but it is difficult to appreciate it as a general theory. Only because a personality far exceeds the bounds of the common imagination of a work-a-day world, we need not necessarily put it down as untrue. Such an attitude strays away from the respect for truth. Such an attitude strays away from the respect for truth. If a character really towared over the average man, truth and respect for truth demand that it should be portrayed as it really was and should not be made to approach the level of the common beig, just to put it within its reach and to make it - as some would like to call it - realistic. A different course is playing false to the personality, to history and to the reader. Men like Śaṅkara are not every-day occurrences. They are accidents of centuries and it will be a direct insult to these personalities and to truth itself to dismiss accounts of their lives as mere standardised panagyric.

What material, then, is at our disposal for arriving at the truth about a man?

First of all, the works of those who have previously written about him. Where original documents are available, we should prefer them only to these previous accounts. By original documents are meant the man's diary or letters. We are not likely to get anything of this kind

in regard to Śaṅkara's life and hence this point need not detain us here. Similar is the case with two other sources, viz., (i) correspondence and conversations reported by witnesses and (ii) the written works of the man himself, by which are meant his purely literary works like dramas and novels, wherein sometimes it may be possible to discover the man beneath his charcters. We, therefore, have necessarily to fall back upon the previous accounts of the man's life only.

By previous accounts, are meant (i) memoirs of contemporaries, where memoires also include full-length biographies, and (ii) life-accounts written by biographers who have come later in time. Contemporary accounts, when and where they are available, are precious pictures that reveal to us the hero in the eyes of those persons, who have seen him at close quarters. When the witness is intelligent and has the gift of sight, he provides us with the most valuable form of document. We must also compare the impressions of different contemporaries, if avaliable, as they are likely to be dfferent. The following passage from an English book is worth quoting in this connection :

"We meet ten witnesses who give their impressions of some particular person; each of them has his own opinion about him; those who have never seen him have invented a legend about him; those who have met him remember nothing but an anecdote and how the man looked for a particular moment - an appearance which they identify with the whole man. When we afterwards find ourselves face to face with the real man and we discover the man himself, we are astonished to see how little the real Poinacré resembles the Poinacré of legand."[2]

This is true not ony of unintelligent witnesses but of intelligent ones also, who give varying versions of the same incidents that they have personally witnessed.

Even the same person, narrating at different times the same incident he has seen, does so with variations. The only point is that even in the case of contemporaries' account, we have to do skimming and sifting before arriving at any definite conclusion.

We also have to look to the type of contact the contemporary had with the hero, his relation to him in time and the comparative relation of different contemporaries writing about him. In the present case, this will apply more particularly to the later biographers and their life-accounts of Śaṅkara.

Another important source is oral tradition. What importance we should be justified in attaching to it is a matter of controversy. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar seems to distrust all tradition about the ancient literature of India[3] while the orthodox school favours acceptance of tradition in its own name.

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2. Aspects of Biography - By Andre Maurois, translated from French by S.C. Roberts, p.70
3. Read : "... In the first place, that its author Hāla, was a Śatavāhana is a mere tradition and must be set aside like all other traditions about the ancient literates of India." R.G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume - p.188.

Tradition cannot be very cheaply dismissed. More often than not, it has had an origin in historical truth and has, at times, helped to discover such historical truth and settle it. We however, cannot accept it as axiomatic either.

Tradition, to be reliable, must in the first place, be reasonably uniform, old enough in time and must be in consonance with definitely known historical facts - at least it should not be opposed to them, unless it is possible to show that for some solid reasons, the history, as known, must be made to conform to tradition rather than that the tradition should conform to history. Where traditions regarding the same fact differ, we have to do selective examination. In India, particularly, where people are more susceptible to credulity and hence a tradition easily originates and gains currency - perhaps even fattens in course of time - one has to be very careful. It is quite possible that just as in the case of Poinacrē, the original tradition is so very different from the one that has to be examined. The main point is that just as we should not dismiss a tradition only because it is a tradition, so also we should be careful while accepting one such. The minumum requirements of law for accepting custom or tradition as having any legal force are also similar. The following passage from Madame Paillerou's pen is worth a repetition here:

"The historian's trade is a terrible trade. In the first place, what do we know? Are you relying on oral tradition? Who amongst those that transmit it, is going to inspire you with confidence? Unless you are convinced of the soundness of their memories, of their impartiality and I may add, of their lack of imagination, you are running great risks."[4]

We have so far seen what a pure biography is - for it has been so called. It is based on historical truth. But its purity is likely to be disturbed by a few confusing elements.

The origin of biography lies in the commemorative instinct of the human mind - to celebrate the dead. "The history of mankind," wrote Carlyle, "is the history of its great men - to find out these, clean the dirt from them and place them on their proper pedestal." This leads to the writing of discreet biographies, writing them with calm and caution, whitewashing and avoiding certain facts that figure therein and the truth is impaired to that extent. The biographer may have reverence for the hero but it should not make him blind. He should be charitable but that should not make him merely adulatory.

Another disturbing elements is a deliberate effort at ethical didacticism or theological argument. "The devout", Dean Stanley holds, "are not gifted with a genius for biography" for their pre-occupation with theology and ethical deduction blurs their interest in man - nay, even the individuality of the man himself. However much we may dislike it, in India where history has been yoked to religion, we have to guard against such a possibility all the more. There is a section of opinion that the lives of saints require to be interpreted. No doubt, their actions have an inner lining and cannot always be understood on the plane of the ordinary human being but we must also see that in our zeal to bring out

4. Quoted by Andra Meurois in Aspects of Biography, pp.86 - 87

the real man, we do not over-do the job and spoil the picture altogether. Thus we find that we tried to attach susch an amount of philosophical significance to the characters of Rāmāyaṇa that the earlier European Orientalists almost repudidted their historicity and put them down as so many characters in an allegory. Much the same argument holds good of the characters of the MBh. and the later-day scholars in India had to take pains to prove that in addition to and inspite of their philosophical interpretations, the characters were truly historical and not allegorical. The thirst to convey an ethical message at every step overshadows the central figure, which then emerges in but a shadowy and unconvincing shape. The biographer, in short, must avoid the Theophrastian method of treating historical characters as merely ethical types.

The third disturbing element is the subjectivity of the writer. To a certain extent, a subjective attitude is desirable and also inevitable. As Dr. W.H. Hudson has said, "there is nothing like impersonality in literature."[5] As Clarendon laid down, "history deals not ony with facts but also with human beings...(& that) the historian should do more than chronicle events; he should introduce 'a lively representation of persons.' But an undue intrusion of the biographer's personality or predilections is a constant source of impurity.

From the point of view of the present thesis, the first essential of a biography, viz., truth, is the most important and hence it has been discussed at such length. The other two viz., (i) individual (ii) literature, need not be more than touched upon. We do not need to emphasise that the individual should be the centre of interest but that biography need not necessarily deal with exciting adventures.

Nor is it so very necessary to say that a biography should be well constructed and should appeal to the reader as a work of intelligence. Too much anticipation, however, in arrangement either of the events or of the characters, often makes the story appear unreal. The events should be narrated and described in their natural course and the main character should be allowed to develop itself through them. The reader should feel that he is reading the life of a real character in history and should not get the impression of going through an entertaining fable. The naturalness of the story can be felt even in the description of events, though very much above the normal level - nay, which are even supernatural or miraculous and the naturalness itself can guide us to separate the chaff of untruth from the grain of truth in the story. Any strain or artificiality in the narrative points in a different direction.

At this stage, we have to consider a very important point, viz., how far to omit or to admit the supernatural or miraculous element while determining the truth or historicity of an event. This question becomes all the more important in as much as all the biographies of Śaṅkara that we have before us are replete with such incidents, which a modern cirtical mind is not ready to accept.

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5. See 'Introduction to the Study of Literature' p.

We have two views in the matter. One is the rationalist's view and the other is that of devotional faith-blind as some like to call it. The attraction of the supernatural has been an immemorial quality of the human mind and many a such record has been written and handed down to us from all parts of the world. As Arch Deacon Wilson has said, "an atmosphere of the miraculous in a certain stage of the human mind is an inseparable accompaniment of the profound reverence with which a great teacher and prophet and saint is regarded by his followers."

The advent of modern science gave a shock to the age of belief and the rationalist, brought up in that school, began to question and discard all things that were not - and as he thought could not - be proved by findings of modern science. All the goda of theology fall from their time-honoured places. The new tide swept over India and we also began to reject every-thing that could be considered supernatural. The educated mind developed a distrust of ancient stories and histories of India. Whatever was not intelligible to or in accordance with the law as formulated by science, was looked down upon and where the basic historicity of an event or a personality could not be reasonably questioned, the educated and the scholarly began to rationalise the stories to bring them in line with known and proved facts. Thus we have attempts at interpreting events and characters in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.

The tide has turned a little but not much. It is quite true that the greatness of a saint, even the sainthood of a saint, does not depend upon his performing miracles or supernatural acts and one cannot agree with those who would fondly believe that but for such acts, the greatness of a saint is not properly borne out. At the same time, it is also not quote proper to dismiss as impossible or childish everything that one cannot understand or perform. There are infinite possibilities in nature and it is just possible that one individual can command some of them, which not even one among the remaining hundreds or thousands can do. In that sense, the performance may be unusual but not impossible. The test of modern science also is not much helpful in the matter. Infinite things remain outside its compass still. During the last fifty years, we have been observing that what was considered impossible ten years back has become an easy affair today and old suspicions are giving place to new beliefs. Outside the field of this science, various experiments are going on in the fields of extra-sensory and supersensory world, advanced psychology and also Yogic practices. We have, by now, ample evidence on record to show that it is neither just nor proper to say that such things are not possible in this world. In fact, there is nothing that is impossible in the world - only we are not fit for it, but that is no reason why we should say that it is not possible for anyone. Even the western people are beginning to realise this truth as is evidenced by recent books on this subject, which will put a poser before any honest doubter. My only submission is that we should not blindly follow the western pattern of thinking that whatever is miraculous has necessarily to be scrapped and the story made 'human' to enable it to be accepted as history. This

kind of 'humanity' is not a sine que non of genuine history. On the contrary, this tendency obstructs the passage of true history by disallowing events, which have, in fact, happened, which could have happened but which the average mind considers impossible in human life.

There is another aspect of this issue and it deserves notice. While determing the truth of a certain incident, we cannot consider merely the hypothetical possibility of such an incident but have to look to its probability also in the given circumstances, i.e. whether it actually happened as stated by certain persons. Some people seem to confound these two aspects and try to pass, under the first one, stories which perhaps have no basis in fact. When, particularly, there is sufficiently reasonable evidence to examine such cases, a critical inquirer should do so. In India, where religious credulity is rooted deeper in the minds of the people, it is quite possible that in their mistaken zeal to heighten the greatness of their hero by atrributing to him as many miracles as possible, they import events and incidents, which never happened in their lives and hence we have to be all the more careful. I hope to be able to illustrate the truth of this statement while discussing the incidents in Śaṅkara's life. As I have remarked while discussing 'tradition', the original germ of a story in the hands of tradition - even written - goes on gaining ground until sometimes, the original loses its own form and is transformed into something altogether new. That was why the late Bhāratācārya C.V. Vaidya, laid down the rule that while considering Puranic or historical works, repeating any particular story like that of Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, the greater the miracle-element it contained, the later must have been its origin.

It, therefore, can be concluded that biography can be said to admit that element of miracle, which, we have grounds to hold, has happened in history, is natural in the setting in which it appears, is quite probable and hence can be accepted as true. It will be seen that in such an examination, mere sentiment will have no place. The sentimental will be strictly replaced by the historical, in the sence we have arrived at. And this brings me to the end of the discussion of biography and also of this chapter.

Chapter - IV

THE QUESTION OF PRIORITY AND AUTHENTICITY

In the last chapter, I have discussed biography fully. It is evident from the discussion that for evaluating the story of Śaṅkara's life, an account or accounts thereof by his contemporaries would be most useful. I have shown in Chapter II that we have at least one such contemporary biography, though in the form of an English version only, with extracts from the original, viz., Br.Ś.V. by Citsukha, preserved for us in Mr. Śāstri's book 'Age of Śaṅkara'. I now propose to examine the relative chronology of the later biographies. I have not been able to settle the exact dates of all the compositions before us. All that I have succeeded in doing is to show how they stand in relation to each other and to Śaṅkara in point of time. Thereafter, I propose to examine their authenticity and reliability individually, with particular reference to the version of Citsukha, as far as it is available. In the body of the thesis also, while disscussing individual incidents in Śaṅkara's life, I have instituted such a comparison and drawn certain conclusions. Firstly, then,I shall deal with the question of priority of the works in hand.

(1) According to Citsukha's statement in the introductory chapter of his work, he was a contemporary of Śaṅkara and as such, whatever the time of Śaṅkara, his biography seems to be the earliest.

(2) Ānandagiri, who wrote Pr. Ś.V., was the disciple of Śuddhānanda and the writer of commentaries of Śaṅkara's Bhāṣyās. He does not seem to have been Śaṅkara's contemporary and disciple like Citsukha, as claimed by tradition. According to Kāñcī Guru Paramparā, he was the 7th in the line from Śaṅkara and Śuddhānanda, his Guru, was the 6th. If this is correct, he must have come two or three centuries after Śaṅkara. I am unable to say more about this than that his work Pr. Ś.V. seems to have preceded all the other biographies, except that of Citsukha.

(3) Anantānandagiri seems to be the earliest of the later biographers. As said already in Chapter II, even though he calls himself अप्रतिहतशिष्य of Śaṅkara, he could not have been his contemporary. He has clearly based his own work on that of Ānand. and hence came at least 4 or 5 centuries after Śaṅkara. That he

came very long after Śaṅkara is also proved from the fact that though he gives graphic descriptions of Śaṅkara's body in Chapter - III and of his passing away in the last chapter, both of which descriptions appear to be almost eye-witness accounts, the way in which he has dealt with the main incidents of Śaṅkara's life seems to show rather that he was removed from his time a good deal than otherwise. It is possible to give such descriptions if a writer just copies a previous writer on the subject, who had some opportunity of getting such information at first hand.

We do not get any more definite clue to settle the date of his work. Justice Telang, however, has pointed out two or three facts, which may be considered.

(i) In Chapter XIX, the work quotes the stanza "अजामेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णाम्" & c. as a Śruti-sentence. According to Mr. Telang, this is a misquotation and the stanza belongs to the introductory portion of Vācaspati's Sāṁkhya-Tattva-Kaumudi. Anant., there-fore, comes after Vācaspati, who belongs to the 9th century A.D. It may, however, be said that this stanza is not only found in Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad at 4:5 but has also been quoted by Śaṅkara in his commentary on Br. Sutras at I:4:8. This argument, therefore, leads us nowhere.

(ii) The work also quotes two passages[1] as from Adhikāraṇa-ratnamāla but actually they appear in Vyāsādhikaraṇamāla, ascribed to Bhāratī-tirtha, the preceptor of Mādhavā-cārya, or his preceptor's preceptor. Bhārati, therefore, must have come not more than two generations from Mādhava, who belonged to the 14th century A.D. Anant. therefore, cannot be placed before 14th century A.D.

This argument is somewhat conclusive but only confirms my deduction that Anant. must have come at least 4 or 5 centuries after Śaṅkara, assuming for the latter the latest date viz., 788 A.D. to 820 A.D.

(4) Vyāsācala's work itself affords no clue to his date. If he is the same as the 54th head of Kāñcī Pītha from Śaṅkara and as the person to whom a reference is made in the copper-plate Grant[2], his period belongs to the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century. This much, however, is

1. The two passages are : (Quoted in Anantā.'s Ś.V. Ch.11)

1) अविचार्यं विचार्यं वा ब्रह्माध्यासनिरूपणात् । असन्देहफलत्वाभ्यां न विचारं तदर्हति ॥ अध्यासोऽहं ब्रह्माशब्दः साङ्गब्रह्मश्रुतीरितम् । सन्देहान्मुक्तिभावाच्च विचार्यं ब्रह्म वै ततः ॥ on ब्र.सू. I:1:1

2) पारिप्लवार्थमाख्यानं किं वा विद्यास्तुतिस्तुतेः । ज्यायोऽनुष्ठानशेषत्वं तेन पारिप्लवार्थकः ॥ on ब्र.सू. III : 4:23

2. See Copper-plate inscriptions of the Kāmakoti Pītha - Plate No.II - pp.15 to 35.

certain that since he is clearly referred to by Govinda-nātha as well as Madhava, he preceded both. Possibly, Anant. and Vyāsācala were contemporaries, more or less.

(5) Cidvilāsa appears to have followed Citsukha to a considerable extent and his version appears to be more natural and older than that of Mādhava, whose very elaborateness seems to show that he come later. Nothing beyond this can be said about Cidvilāsa.

(6) Similar remark applies to Govindanātha. He, too, gives no clue to his date but from the modesty and crudeness of his work, we can infer that his work also preceded that of Mādhava.

(7) Tirumala-Dīxīt refers, in his colophons, to Parama-Śivendra as his Guru. This person seems to be the same as the 57th Guru of the Kāñcī Pītha. This 57th Guru is said to have occupied the Pītha between 1539 A.D. and 1586 A.D. Tirumala-Dīxīt, therefore, can be said to belong to the 16th century A.D.

(8) Rājacūdāmaṇi-Dīxīt wrote, among other works, one called Tantra-Śikhāmaṇi. He composed this work in 1630 A.D.[3] He therefore belongs to the 17th century A.D.

These last two writers have been profusely borrowed verbatim from by Madhava and therefore, they must have preceded him.

(9) About the date of Madhava's work, we get some definite information. The work has been commented upon by Dhanapatisurin and Acyutarāya Moḍak. Both of them give, at the end of their commentaries, the dates of their compositions. Thus, Dhanapati says that he wrote his commentary in Śaka 1746 i.e. 1824 A.D.[4] It may be noted that at the end of the commentary on Chapter - II, it is said that the same was completed in Śaka 1750 i.e. 1828 A.D.[5] Whatever it may be, it is certain that Acyutarāya refers to Dhana.'s commentary by name and hence came after him. Both these commentaries explain the whole of the text of Mādhava's work as gien in the Ānandāśrama edition. Unless, therefore, the stanzas can be said to have been forged - no one has made that allegation so far - it can be taken as proved that the printed text of Mādhava's work was in existence in 1798 A.D. This is the upper limit.

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2. Vide श्री शङ्कराचार्य by Prof. B. Upādhyāya, p.11.
3. Read : पाण्डवेष्वहितारेशप्रमिते शुभवत्सरे ।
श्रावणे सितपञ्चम्यां सिंहे सिद्धौ गुरावयम् ॥
4. Read : शाके शास्त्रश्रुतिमुनिकलानाथसंख्येऽत्र वर्षे ।
पूर्णा व्याख्या समभवदियम् ....॥
5. Read : शके 1750 भाद्रपद शुक्ल 14 इन्दुवारेण द्वितीयः सर्गः समाप्तः ॥

Secondly, there is sufficient evidence to prove that Mādhava has borrowed from Vyāsācala, Tirumala Dīxīt and Rāja D. Out of these, Rāja D. is the latest and his date is shown to be round about 1630 A.D. Mādhava's work must have come after 1630 A.D., which gives us the lower limit. It can, therefore, be concluded that he must have written his work between 1630 A.D. and 1798 A.D.

(10) Sadānanda gives the date of his work as Samvat 1836[6] i.e. 1779 / 1780 A.D. This work, therefore, comes after Rāja D.

(11) The Guru Vaṁsa Kāvya of Kāśi Lakśmaṇa Śāstrin was composed at the instance of Śri Saccidānanda Bhārati Swāmi, said to be the 4th head of Śṛṇgeri Mutt from the one reigning in 1912 A.D. His time was 1770 A.D. to 1814 A.D.[7] This work, therefore, must have been composed towards the close of the 18th century A.D.

(12) About Parameśvara Kavi-Kaṇṭhīrva, we only know that he has followed Mādhava's work and as such came after the same. His work, therefore, can be assigned to the middle or the latter half of the 18th century A.D.

(13) The work of Brahmānanda Saraswati is too much overlaid with the supernatural and appears to me to be a combination of the two works of Anant. and Mādhava. Its division into two parts in highly artificial and the antiquity claimed for it in the name of Sarvajñātman is not at all justified. His work also can be safely assigned to the middle or the latter half of the 18th century A.D.

(14) The work of Bāla Gopāla Yati also affords no clue to its date. It refers to Nīlakaṇṭha[8] and to Śrīdhara,[9] the commentator of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. Śrīdhara flourished in the 15th century A.D. and नील in the 17th century A.D. and therefore Bāla Gopāla Yati can be assigned to the 18th century A.D. at the earliest.

(15) Nīlakaṇṭha's father, Trivikrama composed his work पञ्चायुधप्रपञ्चमान in 1805 A.D. Nīlakaṇṭha, therefore, is easily assigned to the 19th century A.D.

At the end of his work, he pays homage to Deśikas called Śrīman-Nṛsimha Bhārati,[10] by which the poet seems to refer to Nṛsimha Bhāratī or to the first only of these two, for after 1805 A.D., these two achāryas of Sṛṅgeri Mutt only

6. Vide the following stanza :
रसगुणवसुचन्धे विक्रमादित्यराज्यात् समफलयति वर्षे चाश्विने मासि शुद्धे ।
श्रवणयुतदशम्यां भौमवारेऽतिलग्ने ग्रथित इह निबन्धः सिद्ध ईशप्रसादात् ॥
7. Vide 'Greatness of Śṛṇgeri' - Balsubramania, p.80.
8. Vide पञ्चायुधप्रपञ्चमान V:101.
9. Ibid. XII:109.
10. Vide शङ्करमन्दारसौरभ VI:101 - श्रीमन्नृसिंहभारत्यभिधानानु देशिकान नमस्थामि ॥

bear the title Nṛsimha Bhārati. According to Sṛṙgeri Guru-parampara, the first of these reigned from 1817 A.D. to 1879 A.D. and the second from 1879 A.D. to 1912 A.D.[11] Considering the time of his father's work, it seems reasonable to place Nīlakaṇtha in the middle of the 19th century A.D.

(16) Vallisahāya, at the end of his work, clearly mentions the heads of Sṛṅgeri Mutt from Vidyāraṇya to Saccidānanda - Śiva-Abhivinava-Nṛsimha-Bhārati,[12] who occupied the seat from 1879 A.D. to 1912 A.D.

His work, therefore, belongs to the close of the 19th century A.D. He was perhaps a junior contemporary of Nīlankaṇṭha.

(17) Gururatnamalikā and Suṣamā are not biographies of Śaṅkara and yet, since I have used the latter to a considerable extent in the thesis, I would like to say a few words about their dates and authenticity of the latter's quotations.

C.R.M. was written by SAdāśiva Brahmendra, the 59th head of Kāncī Pītha and he is said to have reigned about 1600 A.D. Ātmabodha, who wrote the commentary Suṣamā, was the third or the fourth Ācārya from the author of G.R.M. and came about 100 years later. His commentary, therefore, can be assigned to the 18th century A.D.

We thus find that Mādhava stands in the middle of all the biographers. He has borrowed from his predecessors while his successors have borrowed from him, though there are exceptions in each group. I have omitted Puruṣottama Bhāratī and his work because he gives absolutely no indication of his time nor do we get it from any other place and also because his work is extremely short and not very important.

The relative position in time of the various biographers shows how they stand to Śaṅkara's age. It seems clear that they were removed very much not only from the time of Śaṅkara but also from the time of Śaṅkara's earliest biographer Citsukha. I shall now discuss the question of their authoritativeness for purposes of history.

(1) Citsukha, as stated in Chapter - II, was not only a contemporary but also a colleague, disciple and a very close and continuous associate of Śaṅkara, almost from his childhood to the end of his life. His account of Śaṅkara's life is considerably different from those of the other biographers and yet is very natural and appears to be more genuine. It will, therefore, be doing justice to him to treat his version so far as it is available to us as historically more authentic and hence reliable than the other accounts.

11. Vide - 'Greatness of Sṛṅgeri' - p.80.

12. Vide the stanza : गुरुशिष्यो समुभासे श्रीमन्नृसिंहभारतीसंज्ञौ
अनयोः सधर्मणोरप्यभिनवख्यातिशिष्यैऽभूत् ॥ - Ch.VI.

(2) We do not have a sustained version of Śaṅkara's life from Pr.Ś.V. of Ānandagiri, as we have in the case of Citsukha. Whatever information we get is from references in Mr. Śāstri's book 'Age of Śaṅkara' and quotations in Suṣamā but that information seems to agree more with Citsukha's version than with that of the later biographers. Historically, therefore, it can be used as corroborative evidence and I have mainly used it as such only.

(3) Anant.'s work (about 15th century A.D.) is based on Pr.Ś.V. of Ānand. About the same, however, opinion is sharply divided. The orthodox take it as an authoritative account of Śaṅkara's life while modern scholars dismiss it as an unreliable work of legends. I have quoted in Chapter - II, the view of Mr. Collins Mackenzie. The editor of the Tanjore Mss. Catalogue remarks : "A perusal of this work will convince anybody tha the wrok is very unreliable. It is full of discrepancies and mistakes." Mr. Telang controverted Prof. Wilson's willingness to admit this work as sufficiently historical."[13] As already pointed out, the author is not a contemporary of Śaṅkara as is claimed by him but is removed from him by 4 or 5 centuries. In his work, he omits important events such as the death of Śaṅkara's mother, gives almost no detals of Śaṅkar-Maṇḍana discussion, a fact which directly goes against his contemporaneity with Śaṅkara - and at places, portrays Śaṅkara's character almost in an outrageous and most improbable spirit, e.g. his encounter with Vyāsa. The nature of the work is more of an account of Śaṅkara's discussions with the leaders of various schools of thought rather than a detailed account of his life. Even though, therefore, he is comparatively a very old writer and seems to have based his work on a still older one like Pr.Ś.V., we cannot treat him as an independent authority. He requires to be corroborated and supplemented in his statements where necessary and possible.

(4) Vyāsācala's work is considered to be a very old work. The editor of it calls it "a very ancient work." We, however, do not know how ancient it is. We are straightaway introduced to Śivaguru, Śaṅkara's father, his childlessness and his penance for getting a son. Then follows, in nearly three full three chapters, what can be called the Upamanyu-Ākhyana. Thereafter, we get on with the story proper. When, after defeating Maṇḍana, Śaṅkara comes to Rāmeśvara, a similar narration is given at length. Such narrations cover nearly half the work. These, however, are different from the Nārada story which most of the later writers give. Vyā.'s narrations are digressions but they do not make the main story legendary or mythical. The story also generally follows the order and pattern of Citsukha's version though it omits some events in Śaṅkara's life such as Śaṅkara-Gauḍapāda meeting, the revival of the dead boy &c., described by Citsukha.

13. I.A. Vol. 5, p.287

(5) Govindanātha follows Vyā. for the most part and has scarcely any standing independently of him. Yet he does give us some important variations, e.g. Śaṅkara enters the order of Sannyāsins at the age of 16 years and finds his Guru Govindamuni at Kāśi. There is no visit to Kashmir by Śaṅkara and Sarvajña Pītha seems to be at Kāñcī only. Some mythical element also enters into the narrative when we are told of Śaṅkara-Tejas entering the womb of Śaṅkara's mother, of some almost Puranic effects of his birth and of the horoscope-reading. On the whole, however, the work is much restrained and it can safely be concluded that Vyā. and Govindanātha definitely inspire us with better confidence than do the later writers like Mādhava and Sadānanda.

(6) Cidvilāsa, though not the earliest, seems to conform to Citsukha a little more than the rest. The beginning is mythical as in Mādhava and post-Mādhava works but on the statement of Mr. Śāstri, the main narrative follows Citsukha to a considerable extent. The basis of the work is said to be traditional knowledge.[14] The writer has his own variations to make and they are sufficient to show that he was considerably removed in time from both - Śaṅkara and Citsukha - only he reminds us of Citsukha oftener than do the others, except perhaps Vyā. He, therefore, claims somewhat better attention that the rest but again doesnot deserve much beyond it.

(7) Tirumala Dīxit refers to previous poets in the same field but does not say that he has based his work on any one of them nor does he mention any one of these poets. The nature of the work also does not show that it can claim better respect than the later works of Mādhava and others. The pattern is more or less the same though there is better consistency and continuity in it than is found in Mādhava at any rate. The beginning of the story also is mythical, as in Ānant., Cid. and the later writers.

(8) Rāja D. (17th century A.D.) gives, at the beginning of his work, two motives for writing the same,[15] and both of them are mythical. He refers to no prior work or traditional knowledge of Śaṅkara's life as the basis for his own biography. Except for a few different narrations as in the creation of Ambā-river, Śaṅkara's Para-kāyāpraveśa, identification of Viśvarūpa and Umveka &c., the story is almost the same as in Mādhava, Sadānanda and others.

It does not follow Cit. at any point and historically, the work is not much useful than the works of Mādhava, Sadānanda and others.

14. Read : प्रश्नेनानेन तुष्टोऽस्मि यज्ज्ञातं मद्गुरोर्मुखात् ॥ I : 9 शं.वि.वि.
तत्ते प्रियाय शिष्याय वदामि शृणु सादरम् ॥ I:10

15. Vide Ch.I:stanza 6 & Stanza 10

(9) About the work of Mādhava (1650 A.D. to 1800 A.D.) there has been a great controversy. It is as follows :

Mr. Śāstri stated as earlly as 1916 A.D.[16] and Mr. Bodas agreed with him in 1923 A.D.[17] that the present work of Mādhava, as printed by Ānandāśrama was not the original work but was greatly added to and prepared specially by some adherent of the Sṛṅgeri Mutt, as a set-off against the claim of the Kāncī mutt. Shri K. Kuppuswami Aiyya seems to voice the same view when he quotes in the English portion of "श्रीशाङ्कर-पीठतत्त्वदर्शनम्"[18] a book printed and published by the Kāncī-Kumbakonam mutt, the following extract from a Telugu article by Mr. Vemuri Prabhakara Śāstri of G.O. Mss. Library, Madras.

"I happened to meet at Baptla, Brahmarṣi Vemuri Narasiṁha Śāstri during my recent tour in the Guntur district, last year, in quest of manuscripts. I mentioned casually to him my reason for doubting the authorship of Mādhavıya Śaṅkara Vijaya. Then he gave out the following secret. When he was at Madras, about 15 years ago, he had the acquaintance of the late Śri Bhatta Shri Narayaṇa Śāstri, who told him it was he (Bhattaśri) who wrote the Śaṅkara-Vijaya published in the name of Vidyaranya and that four others...helped him in this production. They, who were attached to the Sṛṅgeri Mutt, had to do so to support the superiority of the Sṛṅgeri Mutt over the Kāncī mutt, which also was claiming to be the chief one, presided over by Sri Śaṅkara. The importance of the Sṛṅgeri Mutt is very much in evidence in this Śaṅkara Vijaya. It is not so found in Vyāsācala Grantha..."

Inspite of this clear statement, however, Śri K.K. Aiyya seems to be unconvinced regarding the truth of the statement of Bhattaśri, for he remarks.

"It is clear from the above that Bhattaśri Nārāyaṇa Śāstri should have been either the real author of the work or was falsely giving out that he was the author."[20]

At Kānci, I was told that in 1844 A.D. a dispute arose between the Sṛṅgeri and the Kāñcī Mutts regarding the right to perform the Tāṭaṅka-pratiṣthā to the Goddess Akhilāṇdeśvari at Jambūkeśvaram. The right was contested by both the Mutts and both the sides were asked to furnish the basis of their respective right. The Kāncī mutt produced Śiva-rahasya and Mārkaṇḍeya-Saṁhita. The Sṛṅgeri Mutt had no such work to support them and, therefore, they produced what now passes as Vidyāraṇya's Śaṅkara Digvijaya.

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16. Vide - 'Age of Śaṅkara', F.Note on p.157 Part I-A

17. Vide शङ्कराचार्य व त्यांचा सम्प्रदाय p.9

18. Vide ṁṁpp.11 and 12 - English portion.

19. Vide Educational Supplement of the Andhra Patrika, 1921 - 22.

20. श्रीशङ्करपीठतत्त्वदर्शनम् p.12 English portion.

This last argument would seem to show that the said work must have come into being between 1844 A.D. and 1850 A.D. Calculating, however, from 1921 A.D. in which year the Telugu article, quoted above, appeared in the press, the meeting of Bhattaśri and Brshmarṣi Vemuri N. Śāstri must have taken place in about 1905 A.D. If, therefore, Bhattaśri's statement is to be believed, he must have composed the work some time towards the close of the 19th century A.D., which conflicts with 1844 - 1850 A.D.

Secondly, I have shown in this chapter that Mādhava's work in the present form must have been written before 1798 A.D. at any rate. Even the later of the two commentators of Mādhava's work cannot be placed after 1830 A.D. In view of these two dates, it becomes wellnigh impossible to believe that the work, even in its present form was written either after 1845 A.D. or towards the very close of the 19th century A.D. as per the Telugu article.

Lastly, I have seen very old mss. of this same work - some of them even on palm-leaf with the same number of chapters and stanzas - in libraries all over India and also small portions of the work preserved separately in some places, which portions also conform to the printed text. It is not reasonable to suppose that the manuscripts of a work of such a recent origin could be found in such diverse places in the South and the North, particularly when the printing facility had become available to a greater or less extent. It, therefore, appears that we have to set aside this theory as disproved by evidence to the contrary.

This, however, does not mean that I look upon the work as authoritative. On the contrary, I have come to the conclusion that this is not at all a reliable biography from the sciencitic point of view. My finding is that the work is no independent composition of one genius but simply a collection of stanzas from three or four previous works - if not any more - put together and that also without displaying much common sense. It is for this reason that I feel that it is most unworthy of a genius like Vidyāraṇya.

The sixteen chapters of this work contain a total number of 1800 and odd stanzas. Out of these, nearly 1100 stanzas have been found to have been borrowed from the works of four different biographers viz., Vyāsācala, Tiru D. Rāja D. and Ramabhadra Surin (Life of Patanjali). The extent of the borrowing is as follows :

1. Vyāsācala - 473 stanzas
2. Tiru D. - 475 stanzas
3. Rāja D. - 125 stanzas
4. Rāma. S. - 11 stanzas

- 1084 stanzas out of 1843 stanzas)

Tiru D.'s work, as available today, is incomplete and breaks off in the 7th chapter, after describing the incident of Ugra-bhairava-Kāpālika. If the remaining portion of the

book were to become available, at least 100 - 150 more stanzas are likely to be found borrowed by Mādhava. Even as it is, the borrowing is excessive enough and quite sufficient to prove that the work os Mādhava is no independent composition of his own. In most of the cases, verbatim stanzas in succession have been borrowed, while in a few cases, only some lines are borrowed and in still fewer cases, substance is kept the same but stanzas have been composed afresh. The following are a few instances of each :

Verbatim :

माधव	I:29 to 32	=	तिरु. दी.	-	I:27 to 30.
	I:34 to 40	=	तिरु. दी.	-	I:31 to 37.
	I:55 to 97	=	तिरु. दी.	-	I:42 to 84.
	II:49 to 65	=	व्यासा	-	IV:3 to 19 II:65 = IV : 18
	II : 63	=	व्यासा		IV : 19
	III : 10 c.d. to 37 a.b.	=	व्यासा	-	VI : 10 to 36
	III : 37 c.d. & 36 a	=	व्यासा	-	VI : 37 (3rd line dropped)
	III : 38 b.c.d. to 43 a	=	व्यासा	-	VI : 38 to 42
	III : 44 to 77	=	व्यासा.	-	VI : 44 to 77.
	V : 35 to 58	=	तिरु.दी.	-	II : 77 to 99.
	V : 87 to 90	=	पत.च.	-	VIII : 18 and 19.
	V : 92 TO 95	=	"	-	VIII : 63 to 66
	V : 98 to 101	=	"	-	VIII : 67 to 70.
	VII : 104 to 107	=	राज.दी	-	II:33 & 35to37
	VII : 67 to 70	=	"	-	II:24to26 & 29.
	XIII : 1 to 37	=	"	-	IV : 1, 2, 6, 7, 14 to 33 and 50 to 62.

Half Stanzas

माधव	V : 67 a.b.	=	व्या.	-	II : 134 a:b.
	V : 91 c.d.	=	पत.च.	-	VIII : b,c,d.
	VI : 20 C.d.	=	ति.दी.	-	III : 59
	VI : 60 a.b.	=	राज.दी	-	I : 64
	VII : 46 a.b.	=	राज.दी	-	II : 11.

New stanzas for common substances - compare the following :

माधव	II:66 to 72	=	राज.दी	-	I:21 to 27 (except stanza 27).
	II:76	=	राज.दी	-	I:29.
	I:85 / 6 77	=	राज.दी	-	I:31 / 2 / 3.
	VI:44	=	तिरु.दी.	-	III:37
	VI:79	=	व्यासा	-	V : 10
	: 102	=	तिरु.दी.	-	IV : 27
	VIII : 133	=	राज.दी.	-	II : 50
	VII : 83	=	तिरु.दी	-	III : 95
	XIII : 40	=	व्यासा	-	VII : 46
	XIV:111	=	व्यासा	-	VIII:71
	XVI:3 & 29	=	राज.दी.	-	III:39 and 42.

I have given only a few of the innumerable such instances to be come across in Mādhava's work, when compared with the other three or four works. It will be seen from a comparison of the verbatim quotations in Chapter III of Mādhava's work with Chapter VI of Vyā.'s work that he also combines half-stanzas of the latter to form his own complete stanzas. The same group discloses that in some cases, he has formed his stanzas by taking three lines of one stanza and the first line of the next stanza from the latter.

One question is likely to be raised in this connection, viz., what evidence is there to show that Mādhava borrowed from these writers and not vice versa? I think, the answer is simple. In the first place, Mādhava definitely refers to Vyā. in the stanza already quoted (Chapter II), viz., "व्यासाचलप्रमुखपूर्विक" & c. In my opinion, even in I : 17 of Mādhava's S.Śaṅkara Vijaya,[21] the use of the word Vyāsācala does seem to show that Mādhava was aware of an old Kavivara of that name, even though actually in the context wherein it occurs, we may allow the commentator's interpretation thereof so as to refer to Mādhava himself. It, then, becomes quite clear that it is Mādhava who has borrowed from Vyā. and not conversely.

Secondly, the way in which many stanzas have been shown to be used by Mādhava clearly shows a manipulation which comes later.

Vyāsācala from his cryptic style and arrangement also has to be earlier.

Mādhava's work discloses a deliberate arrangement and amplification of older material, both of which are absent in Vyāsācala.

21. Read : धन्यो व्यासाचलकविवरस्तत्कृतिज्ञाश्च धन्याः ॥ I : 17

With regard to the others, it can definitely be said that Mādhava is the borrower. The stanzas, single or in succession, borrowed from these other writers, fit in the context of the original works quite well while in Mādhava, they give rise to repetitions and contradictions. I shall give only two instances :

(1) While narrating the incident of Para-kāyyāpraveśa, Mādhava writes :

स ददर्श कुत्रचिदमर्त्यमिव त्रिदिवच्युतं विगतसत्त्वमपि ।
मनुजेश्वरं परिवृतं प्रलपत्प्रमदाभिरार्तिमदमात्यजनम् ॥ सं.शं.जय IX : 74

अथो निशाखेटनवशादटव्यां मूले तरोर्मोहवशात्परासुम् ।
तं वीक्ष्य मार्गेऽमरकं नृपालं सनन्दनं प्राह स संयमीन्द्रः ॥ Ibid. IX : 75

The latter of these two stanzas is IV : 34 of Rāja D.'s Śaṅkarābhyudaya. In Rāja D., Śaṅkara is described as being on tour. He is going from place to place. Raja.D., has described the revival by Śaṅkara of a dead child and thereafter he describes this incident. In the context, the word 'Atha' at the beginning of his stanza denotes Ānantaraya and quite properly while in Madhava, the second stanza repeats what is stated in the first and leaves 'Atha' without any propriety. It is, therefore, obvious that Rāja D.'s work is the earlier one.

(2) At VIII : 130 of his S.Śaṅkara Jaya, we are told by Mādhava that Bhāratī, wife of Maṇḍaṇamiśra, saw that the garland round her husband's neck had faded. She, therefore, asked both, Śaṅkara and Maṇḍaṇa, to get up for meals and again said to Śaṅkara as follows :

कोपातिरेकवशतः शपता पूरा माम् ।
दुर्वासिसा तदवधिर्विहितो जयस्ते ।
साऽहं यथागतमुपैमि शमिप्रवीरे - ।
त्युक्त्वा ससंभ्रममम‌ुं निजधाम यान्तीम् ॥ VIII : 133

बबन्ध निःशङ्कमरण्यदुर्गा- ।
मन्त्रेण तां जेतुमनाः मुनीन्द्रः ।
जयोऽपि तस्याः स्वमतैक्यसिध्यै ।
सर्वज्ञतः स्वस्थ न मानहेतोः ॥ VIII : 134

जानामि देवीं भवतीं विधातुः ।
देवस्य भार्यां पुरभित्सगर्भ्याम् ॥ VIII : 135 & c

The stanzas clearly show that Bhāratī was going back to her heavenly abode when Śaṅkara detained her by means of a charm for engaging her in argument. As against this, we are told by Mādhava in Chapter IX of his work that when Maṇḍaṇa surrendered to Śaṅkara and asked him to initiate him into the order of Sannyāsins, Śaṅkara looked at Bhāratī significantly. She understood his meaning and then told him a story from her childhood, when,

she said, it was predicted by an ascetic that she would enter into an academic discussion with a great Yati in her later life. She also says that she was the other half of her husband and as such he had conquered Maṇḍana only half. She called upon Śaṅkara to defeat her also and then claim Maṇḍana as his disciple.[22] It seems to be quite clear that this narration conflicts with the one of binding her by means of a charm. There she is going back to her abode. She has no desire to argue with Śaṅkara, who openly tells her his object in detaining her. In this second narration, Bhārati almost challenges Śaṅkara to a discussion before he could be entitled to convert her husband into a Sannyāsin. There is, thus, a clear contradiction. This contradiction is due to the attempt to fuse together the two versions of Tiru D. and Rāja. D., of course with alterations. The stanza 'कोपातिरेकवशतः' (माधव VIII : 133) is worth a comparison with Raja, D. II : 50, which runs thus :

कोपातिरेकवशतः शपता पुरा मामू। शापावधिस्तव जयो विहितो विधात्रा। साऽहं यथागतमुपैमि शमिप्रवीरे-त्युक्त्वा तिरोधिमकृतोभयभारती सा ॥

According to Rāja. D. then, Bhārati immediately disappeared and that agrees with his story because he does not describe her discussion with Śaṅkara and the consequent Para-kāyā-praveśa. Mādhava, it will be clearly seen, has deliberately changed the last portion of the stanza "कोपाति" & c. of Rāja. D. and connected it with the first line of the next stanza of his own, in a different metre. This portion is not described by Tiru.D. in the manner of Rāja D. and hence in his version also - which is the second narration of Mādhava - there is no contradiction. By bringing these two together, however, Mādhava has made his own version contradictory. Evidently, he has borrowed from both and hence must be placed later.

Mādhava's borrowing is evident from another point of view also. In some places, he has borrowed from all three in the same context and that has given rise to change in metre in every two or three stanzas. Generally, it is found that these earlier writers maintain the same metre for at least a sufficient length of narration and if, at all, they change it, they do so sparingly and the change does not appear forced or artificial, which impression is had in many places in Mādhava.

It is for all these reasons that I feel that Mādhava has borrowed from all the four earlier writers nearly 1100 stanzas out of 1843 in his work. As I have already said, if the remaining portion of Tiru D.'s work were to become available, many more can be added to 1084, already found.

Prof. B. Upadhyāya has expressed the view that the style of Mādhava's work more akin to the style of Bhārata-campu, also written by a poet called Mādhava, who calls

22. Read : अपि तु त्वयाऽथ न समग्रजितः। प्रथिताग्रणीर्मम पतिर्यदहम्।
वपुरर्धमस्य न जिता मतिमन्। अपि मां विजित्य कुरु शिष्यमिमम्॥ IX : 56.

himself Nava-Kālidasa. Bhārata-campu was written by Mṛdhavabhatta, who came after Raja D. Prof, Upādhyaya, therefore, opines that the same poet Mādhava has written the present S. Śaṅkara Jaya.[23] Considering thte evidence adduced so far, the professor's conclusion seems to deserve full attention and respect.

The present work, then, is written by Mādhavabhatta, the author of Bhārata-campu and not by the celebrated Vidyāranya and must have been written sometime after 1630 A.D. but before 1800 A.D. In view of the same evidence, I also feel that this is no independent work on the life of Śaṅkara but is only a plagiarised combination of three or four works, with repetitions and contradictions which take away from it almost all value as an independent historical work. This remark is supported by other findings also about the same.

As is usual with many of the biographies we have, the work commences in the mythical fashion by bringing Nārada to the earth to inspect, to notice the subordination of religion to materialistic turn of mind, then making him go and report the matter to Lord Māhadeva, who promises to set matters right. First, Brahmā, in company with the other Gods, approaches Lord Mahādeve and narrates the whole thing in detail. Thereupon, the Lord bids them shake off all fear and promises to be born on earth to re-establish the supremacy of religion and asks all the Gods including Brahmā to go ahead as human beings to aid him in his task. They agree, bow low in obeisance and depart. Accordingly, the birth of various gods as Padmapāda, Hastimalaka, Citsukha, Uttaṅka, Ānandagiri, Maṇḍaṇa, Sudhanwan & c. is described. Thereafter, as a result of and in answer to the austere penance of Śivaguru and his wife, Śāṁbhava lustre enters the latter's womb and Lord Śiva is born as Śaṅkara or Śaṅkarācarya. Many biographies adopt this Puranic style of introducing the story. It only shows the un-historical character of the work and the lack of sufficient material in the hands of the poet on his subject. He anticipates events in a peculiar manner when he says that at Śaṅkara's birth, all creatures gave up their age-old animosity and began to live together in perfect love and harmony.[24]

Even Nature expressed her happiness at his birth in a variety of ways.[25] Books fell down suddenlly from the hands of those who held views contrary to those held by Advaitins and the mind-lotus of Śrī Vyāsa bloomed.[26] Further, he anticipates Śaṅkara's greatness by narrating the visit of sages like Agastya to his house. Mādhava also makes Śaṅkara enter into argument with and overcome learned pundits in different fields, when only 7 years of age. It is, however, to be noted that Mādhava, who gives so many details of this type, does not give the date of any important event like birth, death, etc., in Śaṅkara's life. This is in sharp contrast to Cit., who gives the full particulars like day, time, year &c.

23. Vide his श्रीशङ्कराचार्य - p.13
24. Vide श्री संक्षेपशङ्करजय II : 73
25. Ibid., II : 74.
26. Ibid., II : 75.

of every important incident in his life. Similar is the case with Mādhava's account of Śaṅkara-Maṇḍana discussion. In the first place, few biographers give us anything like the talk that ensued between them. Some earlier writers totally keep silent over such an important factor. When, therefore, Mādhava gives something like Pūrvapakṣa and Siddhānta - it touches one or two points only - one seriously doubts the correctness of the report.

Again, compared with Cit.'s version. Mādhava has upset the order of incidents almost completely and has narrated almost every incident with additions of his own, thereby rendering the story most unnatural. He has made the story almost legendary. Lastly, he makes Śaṅkara argue with man like Nīlakaṇtha, Abhinavagupta,[27] Śri Harsha of Khandaṇa Khaṇḍa Khādya[28] & c., who appeared in history centuries after him. This is sher anachronism or unhistorical writing.

Mādhava's work, therefore, though quite good for its poetry and systematic arrangement, can be given very little credit from the historical point of view.

(10) Sadānanda (18th century A.D.), as already seen, wrote his work almost 1000 years after the latest date to which Śaṅkara can be assigned. Yet, even such a work can contain authentic material if based on a reliable previous work. I have said that Sadānanda, on his own statement had an अगाधशङ्करदिग्जय before him and he tried to summarise it for self-purification.[29] Mr. T.S.N. Śāstri[30] says that Sadānanda follows Citsukha. A comparison, however, of Sadānanda's work with the available portion of Citsukha's version of Śaṅkara's life, as preserved for us in English by Mr. Śāstrin, does not bear testimony to this statement even in respect of a single incident. The manner of introducing the story through Nārada's figure, birth, early years and education of Śaṅkara, his father's passing away, Śaṅkara meeting his Guru, and all the other incidents are narrated by Sadānanda exactly in the same manner and same order as we find in Mādhava's work. At times, particularly in Chapter - I, Sudānanda has repeated Mādhava's work somewhat excessively. In so doing, he introduces his own additions and alterations as in the case of narrating the stories of Viśvarūpa and Bhārati, Śaṅkara's encounter with Vyāsa and Maṇḍaṇa, but there is no doubt that on the whole, his work is related more closely to that of Mādhava and less so to that of Citsukha, whom he might have followed here and there. The nett result is that the work does not seem to be entitled to any great errespect than Mādhava's work. He also brings in the work, characters of Nilakaṇtha and Abhinavagupta & c. for discussion with Śaṅkara, which shows lack of historical sense on the part of the writer.

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27. Vide संक्षेपशंजय VI : 82.
28. Vide संक्षेपशंजय Ch. XV
29. शैवे सूचितमादितो यतिवरैर्बद्धं पुरा ग्रन्थतोऽगाधं शङ्करदिग्जयं निजधिया वीक्ष्याऽहमेवाततम् ॥
सिद्धान्तश्रुतिसद्गिरां किल ततो निष्कृष्यं संक्षेपतः । कुर्वे स्वात्मविशुद्धये स्फुटममुं तत्सार मेवादरात् ॥ शं.दि.सार I : 4
30. Vide 'Age of Śaṅkara' p.156

(11) Guruvaṁśa Kāvya (18th century A.D.) is a work of a similar type. Though it is said to be based on the information supplied by the then ruling Swāmi of Sṛṅgeri mutt, we find that except for a few differences, the work is not materially different from that of Mādhava and cannot be credited with much independent historical authority.

(12) Ācārya Vijaya of Parameśvara (18th century A.D.) clearly follows and follows very closely the work of Mādhava alone and as such does not deserve better respect than the same.

(13) Bṛ.Ś.V. of Brahmānanda Saraswati (16th century A.D.) is perhaps the only work that can beat the work of Mādhava. It is absolutely a purāṇic work of 8000 and odd stanzas. It begins with Yuga-Dharma-Kathana (युगधर्मकथन) and topics of such import and then introduces the story through the dialogue between the author and his disciple, Yogānanda. The former, at the request of the lattor, undertakes to tell him the life-story of Śaṅkara as it was handed down to him by Sarvajñamuni. Then the author tells us how kali went to Brahmā and complained to him that he could not have sway anywhere in the land of Bharata. Brahmā, thereupon, requested Viṣṇu to be born as Buddha, who repudiated the authority of the Vedas and shook the Sanātana Vedic Religion. People attached themselves to various kinds of worship and thus came into being the different sects. Nārada saw this, went to Lord Siva, reported to him the state of affairs and requested him to re-establish the Vedic Religion. Lord Siva assured him that He would take birth on earth as the son of a Brahmin and do as he wished.[31] Then were born Gauḍapāda, Bhaṭṭācārya and ultimately Śaṅkara. This is the beginning of the story and in this very strain, the author gives the incidents relating to these three persons. The work gives the dates of birth of Bhattacarya and Śaṅkara but they do not agree with any date given by any other writer, ancient or modern. The author does not miss a single chance of mystifying the life-accounts of the main figures - so much they are overlaid with the supernatural. He narrates stories in connection with all the three figures - Gauḍdpāda, Bhattācārya and Śaṅkara - which are an advance on every other biographer. In short, the work as we have it today, is highly exaggerated in form and we can use it for bare facts only, which we have to wean out of the mass of the overlaid material. The neuclous is very difficult to separate from the accretions. The separation of the work into two parts, viz., life proper and Digvijaya, is another indication of its artificiality.

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31. Read : दक्षिणे केरले देशे द्विजस्य तनयो महान् ।
भूत्वा त्वया प्रार्थितं च करिष्यामि न संशयः ॥ बृ.शं.वि.

As stated already, it appears to be a combination of the works of Ânantanandagiri and Mādhava and is even more unreliable than that of the latter.

(14) In the absence of the complete work, it is rather difficult to say much about Śankarācāryamahima of Bāla-gopāla-Yati (18th century A.D.). When the original manuscript was applied for, the Trivandrum Library refused on the ground that it was very old and not in a condition to be sent. The work, therefore, cannot be said to be very recent, like that of Nīlakaṇṭha or Vallīsahāya. From the contents, however, it does not appear to be very old either. As stated in Chapter - II, the 19 or 20 chatpers have nothing to do with Śaṅkara. They identify, in various manners, Śaṅkara with the Highest Truth. The narration of his life proper also is very highly mythical. It almost reminds us of the stories of the birth of Râma and Kṛṇa, as used on the occasions of their birth-festivals. Śivaguru is promised with a son, who would be Reality itself, establishing Sannyāsa-mārga and writing commentaries. When the wife is pregnant, Gods assemble in the sky to praise the embryo. They appear before Śaṅkara at the time of his renunciation with a request not to root out Karma-mârga altogether and Śaṅkara promises them not to do so. If all this is history, the distinction between legend or myth and history will be without difference. This does not mean that there is not even a grain of historical truth in the story of Śaṅkara's life, as narrated by the writer but we have to do much greater selection in the case of the stories appearing in the work. We cannot at all rely upon it as an independent authority.

(15) Śaṅkaramadāra-Saurabha of Nīlakaṇṭha (19th century A.D.) belongs to the Mādhava Group. The poet's brother has written a commentary Samīra on this work, in which he says, the poet has described in his chapter the deeds of Lord Candraśekhara, descended on the earth for the establish-ment of Brahma-Vidyā.[32] The work, then, contains the Līlās of Lord Śiva in the form of Śaṅkara. The commentator very often refers to the Saṅkṣepa-Śaṅkara Jaya of Mādhava, whom, we easily find, the poet very closely follows. Nīlakaṇṭha gives us some more stories, not found in any other work. Thus, Śaṅkara offers 1000 salutations to his Vidya-Guru by way of his fees (Guru-dakṣiṇā). His Aśrama-Guru Govindamuni extends his feet outside the hermitage and Śaṅkara places his head on the same. The story of Kumarile is very differently given in that he is brought out alive by Śaṅkara and then passes away like a Yogin. Writing in the 19th century and following no other work except the highly doubtful narration of Mādhava, it is difficult to rely on this work as a historical document, particularly when it gives new stories not mentioned by any previous biographer, - even by Citsukha, who gives almost every

32. Read : तत्रभवान्नीलकण्ठनामा विद्वन्मणि.... ब्रह्मविथास्थापनायाऽवतीर्णस्य भगवतः चन्द्रशेखरस्य लीलाः... षड्भिस्तरङ्गैः कथयाम्यभूव ॥

important event in Śaṅkara's life with details - and ultimately makes Śaṅkara discuss with Udayana, Abhinavagupta and Śri Harṣa of Khaṇḍana Khaṇḍa-Khādya. It is curious to note in passing that only Mādhava, Sadānanda and Nīlakaṇṭha bring about these discussions. No other biographer is guilty of this anachronism.

(16) Ācārya-Digvijaya of Vallīsahaya (19th century A.D.) is the last biography proper to be considered. He refers to Ānandagiri and his Guru-Vijaya at the beginning of his work and on a comparison of his work with that of Anantānandagiri, it is inferable that he had before him the latter work, which, most probably, he has followed. The account of Śaṅkara's life is here dressed up in very ornate poetry and cumbrous prose. The poet closely follows the order of events and pattern of narration as found in Anantānandagiri's work. However not only does he summarise the original but more oftten than not, he omits many discussions and those that he gives, he does only symbolically i.e. merely by touching them. Where some discussions are given, they do not agree with those narrated in Anantānandagiri. Śaṅkara's discussions with vidveṣa Vīra at Madhyārjuna and a devotee at Anantaśayanapura can be cited as instances of the process described by the poet.[33]

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33. The encounter with Vidveṣa Vira can be given in the original :

विद्वेषवीरनाभा विद्वेषी कोपि शम्भुलिङ्गधरः ।
पशुपतिमतावलम्बी गुरुमरुणवादविधिषु विजिगीषुः ॥

प्रतिपक्षचण्डभैरवमाराध्येन्द्रं विपक्षशूलं च ।
परमतकालानलमप्यपसंगृह्यैष गुरुपरमवादीत् ॥

यतिवर कुतस्तवेयं मतिस्तनीयस्य हो मदीयमते ।
श्रीकण्ठ एव वेत्ता यस्य च भूम्नां स एव वेद्यश्च ॥

वदति स्म भस्मविभवं सरस्वतीकृतकैतवक्षतिः ।
शिवचिह्नमेतदशिवैकनिन्हवं वनवह्निवद्दहति कल्मषाटवीम् ॥

निन्द्यानिन्द्यद्वन्द्वतुलप्रचाराः सङ्ग भूम्ना लिङ्गमैशानमेतद् ।
अन्तर्लिङ्गेनैव संयोज्य भक्त्या त्यक्तातङ्काः शङ्करे निर्वृताः स्मः ॥ एवं सति, सोऽहमिति दुर्धिया मुग्धमतीन् प्रलोभ्य कृतशिवलिङ्गधारणनिवारणः, कथमिह भवान् स्वयमवतीर्णः परांस्तारयति दुरितपुरमतिघोरम् ।

To this, Śankara rejoins :

इत्याकर्ण्य तदीयदुर्नयवर्णविस्तरमादिगुरुः परमतकालानलमुखान् शिशमयिषुः जलद इवैयं जगर्ज-रे शूललिङ्गचिन्हतप्ताः दृषद्भरभरणभुग्नकणाश्च, शृणुत तावत् । अद्वैतप्रदविद्वेषिभिरपि भवद्भिः सत्यमुक्तं वेत्ता वेद्यश्च भगवन् श्रीकण्ठ इति । अस्त्वेतत् ।

भूतिर्भूतिकरी न तत्र विशयः श्रुत्यन्तरङ्गस्पृशाम् ।
यत्तूक्तं हरलिङ्गधारणमिदं यत्नेन तप्तायसा ॥
श्रेयःसाधनमित्यबोधनटनाद्युष्माभिरुष्मायितैः ।
आम्नायानुगृहीतशीलमधुना तातर्ति जागर्तिभिः ॥ विद्वेषवीर, इदमिह सकृदवधेयम् -
यदि हृदि मदनारिचिह्नवाञ्छा भुजयुगलेन गलेन वा भुजङ्गम् ।
वह चर गरलं जहीहि कालं किमिह मदान्ध मुधैव नानदीषि ॥

एवमादिभिरुक्तिभिरलसीकृत्य नन्विवहमहामोहविलसितं उपदर्शितवैदिकाचारसरणिः.... See Ch. II : stanza 32 to stanza 38).

Ānantānandagiri gives us what can be called a scientific discussion whereas Vallisahaya does not give us anything of the kind. The encounter with the Vidveṣa Vīra indicates the poet's method of describing the various discussions between Śaṅkara and leaders of different schools. When we read the same encounter in Anantānandagiri's work, which gives a discussion of Śruti passages with their interpretations and the real meaning of Śrauta injunctions contained therein, we realise how unfavourably the one compares with the other.

In a similar manner, the poet disposes of the two leaders of Bhakti-school, whereas Anantānandagiri gives through Śaṅkara a very nice exposition of the value of ācāra and the performance of Vedic Karmas, prior to the attainment of (Self-) knowledge. Śaṅkara even goes to the length of saying that even a Sannyāsin has to perform the Karman enjoined by Śruti for, if he omits to do so, blame attaches to him... Moreover, Karman like worship of God, bathing, begging, &c. exists for Yatis also.[34] In fact, Anant.'s work has put in Śaṅkara's mouth many such important and revealing statements which, if true, will clear his stand philosophically to a great extent. We find nothing of the kind in the work of Vallīsahāya.

The poet also has a very curious way of introducing questioners. Śaṅkara goes to some place and praises the deity there. The hearers do not like it and they come forward and start discussions. Thus it happened at Ānantaśayanapura, where Śaṅkara bathed in Kumāradhārā - river and praised the deity of the place and leaders of Bhakti school, headed by Viṣṇuśarman, came forward. Similarly, at Gaṇa-puranagara, Śaṅkara bathed in Kaumudī river and praised Ganapati. That brought forward new questioners. In addition to this, the poet disposes of as many as 39 opponents by a single stroke of the pen, by saying that they were conquered and converted by Śaṅkara.[35] No doubt, the poet does give some discussions in some detail but the manner of their presentation is highly suspicious and hence even though we do get some information on certain topics, it does not appear to be historically unimpeachable. The poet is mainly a poet and not at all a reliable historian. He omits many important incidents in Śaṅkara's life, such as Śaṅkara's mother's death, his own (Ś.'S) passing away, or those describing how Śaṅkara came by his chief disciples and so on. He only describes Śaṅkara's discussions with the leaders of different schools and that too in the manner described already and therefore, though from this point of view, his work is true to its name Ācārya-Digvijaya, it is almost useless for purposes of the rest of thte life account of Śaṅkara. Such information as we get about Digvijaya, is based on Anantānandagiri's work, with which, however, this work compares

34. Read : संन्यासिनाऽपि विहितं कर्म कर्तव्यमेव, कर्महीने पातित्यदर्शनात् ।
देवार्चनस्नानशौचभिक्षाचर्यादिकं कर्म यतीनां च विद्यत एव ॥ अनन्ता शङ्करविजय (Ch. VI).

35. Read :
.....जगद्गुरु सदनुप्रपञ्चोदञ्चितपाञ्चरात्र वैसानसः भक्तभागवतवैष्णवहैरण्यगर्भहैरण्यरेतस, सौर, वैनायक, शाक्त, सारस्वत, कापालिक, चार्वाक, सौगत-क्षपणक-जैन-बौद्ध-वैष्वक्सेन-स्मार-कौबेर-शतमुख-शामन-वारुण-निरालम्ब-वाराह-लौकिक सांख्य-कापिल-काणाद, अणुवादि कर्मपर, नवग्रह, पितृगण, शेष, गरुडसिद्ध, गन्धर्व, भूतवेतालादिउपासकदुर्मतनिर्मूलननिर्मर्यादविजृम्भितकौतुक.... ॥ See Ch. II.

very unfavourably. The conclusion, thereforre, is irresistible that except for some corroborative information, this work also has very little or no independent historical value. The time by which the poet is removed from that of Śaṅkara or even that of the only work it follows, reinforces the conclusion.

(17) Neither Guru Ratnamālika nor Suṣamā (18th century A.D.) is a biography proper. Yet Suṣamā, commenting on G.R.M., has cited extensively from many old works, biographical and otherwise, including Bṛ.Ś.V. of Citsukha, Pr.Ś.V. of Ānandagiri and so forth. I have mainly used these quotations in this thesis since they give much biographical information that is nw and important. How far it is reliable is a matter of controversy since none of the works quoted from is available today for inspection and the work which cites these quotations is of a very recent origin (18th century A.D.). Serious doubts have been entertained regarding the authenticity of these quotations and therefore it becomes necessary to examine the pros and cons of the contention before the quotations can be considered genuine and reliable.

The first objection is that none of the works quoted from is available today for inspection and in their absence, it is not possible to verify the genuineness and reliability either of the works or of the quotations cited therefrom. It must be conceded at once that this objection is quite true. I have, however, shown earlier in Chapter II, that there is sufficient evidence to prove the existence of the works of Citsukha and Ānandagiri, though in the absence of their original works, it is not possible to verify whether or not the stanzas quoted as from these did actually belong to them. It may, however, be submitted that the evidence produced in respect of these two works is sufficient for a prima facie case in favour of accepting the quotations as genuine and reliable, subject to new evidence to the contrary.

A graver objection - it is altogether a charge - is that the stanzas quoted were composed by compiler of the work, just to prove a theory.[36] The objection or the charge has been applied more pointedly to quotations in Suṣamā. Śri Cidambaram Iyah Garu[37] has classified the authorities referred to and quoted by Suṣamā under the following four heads :

1. Unheard of works by unheard of writers.
2. Unheard of works by heard of writers.
3. Heard of works by heard of writers.
4. Annonymous works.

36. This charge has been applied to the quotations given by Mr.T.S.N. Śāstri in his 'Age of Śaṅkara'.

37. I was shown at Kāladi a type-written copy of an article by this gentleman, who has subjected therein the G.R.M. and Suṣmā to a detailed examination. The discussion of the second objection is based on this article.

(1) Under the first, the writer lists the following :

a. Bṛhat Śaṅkara Vijaya of Citsukha.
b. Prācīna-Śaṅkara Vijaya of Ānandagiri.
c. Puṇyaślokamanjari by Sarvajña - Sadāśivendra.
d. Maṇiprabha - Rāmila.
e. Hayagrīva - vadha - Mentha Bhatta.
f. Gauḍapādollasa of Harimiśra.
g. Vidyāśaṅkara-Vijaya of Abhinava Uttenda Vidyāraṇya Bhāratī.

Regarding the first two works, I have stated my findings in Chapter II. The third is available today and a copy of it is in my possession. The fifth is lost to us - perhaps permanently - but extracts from the same are to be come across in works on Alaṅkāraśāstra.[38] Regarding the sixth, I was told by one Mr. Padmanābha Śāstrin at Gwalior that such a work did exist and that according to his knowledge, it was printed in Vaṅgiy characters and copies thereof were possibly available at Muthura-Brindaban. Maṇiprabhā is still untraced while I have not been able to identify the last reference.

2. Under the second, are mentioned works like Śaṅkarendra-V.ıāsa by Vākpati Bhatta. Sarvajña-Vilasa by Sarvajñātman and so on. Except that Shri M. Krishnamachari also refers to the first of the two works and gives a summary of the life of Abhinava-Śaṅkara, nothing can be said about this group. The other works are untraced so far.

3. Under the third head, the following are listed :

(i) Misquoted Śivarahasya, (ii) Misquoted Vyāsācalīya, (iii) Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad-Dīpika by Śaṅkarānanda - the writer says that the only manuscript of this work is to be found in Adyar Library but the said manuscript does not contain the stanzas quoted by Suṣamā as from the same.

4. Misinterpreted passage from Naiṣadha - Yāgeśvara is the correct reading and not Yogeśvara, as maintained by Kāncī people.

The Śivarahasya is said to be misquoted because some additional stanzas, after "नैजमवाप लोकम्" in Aṁśa 9 - Chapter XVI do not appear therein and so on. I have thrashed out this point in Chapter XII while dealing with the place of Śaṅkara's final disappearance and that, I believe, sufficiently disproves the theory of additional stanzas.

Vyāsācalīya is said to be misquoted because the two passages relating to (i) Śaṅkara's encounter with the Cāṇḍāla at Kāśi and (ii) Śaṅkara's passing away at Kāñcī, quoted by Suṣamā are not found in any manusctipt of that work as also in the printed edition of the same.

38. Vide "Classical Sanskrit Literature", p.55 by Prof.V. Gopal Iyengar Rājā Sarfoji College, Tanjore. (1st Edition).

I have already shown the relation of Mādhava's Saṅkṣepa Śaṅkara Jaya to Vyāsācalīya and the extent to which the former borrows from the latter. The whole of the passage, relating to the Cāṇḍāla story, appears verbatim in Mādhava and it seems quite possible that it did originally belong to Vyāsācala's work also.

The second passage relates to Śaṅkara's passing away. The printed text makes no reference to that incident. Vyāsācala's work is almost the only one to omit this reference. It seems possible that the five stanzas, which narrate that incident, did form part of the original work o Vyāsācala.

The third work has not been available to me, even after enquiry with the Adyar Library, which informed me that they did not have it, either in printed or in manuscript form.

Regarding the last, we may concede the position. It is a question of interpretation of a text and there is always room for difference of opinion.

4. Under the last group, are mentioned :

(a) आचार्यविजय (b) जगद्गुत्कथासहग्रह

(c) सद्गुरुसन्तानपरिमल (d) मार्कण्डेयसंहिता

Out of these, the first is the same as Anantānandagiri's Śaṅkara Vijaya and the last one is a well-known Purānic work. These two, therefore, are not annonymous works. The other two have not been traced so far.

The point in discussing these things in such detail is that we have sufficient grounds to hold that the works referred to and quoted from by Suṣamā are not unfounded and of the writer's imagination only and therefore, the quotations need not be summarily dismissed. Scholars are fully aware of the phenomenon of incalculable literature having been destroyed and become extinct in course of time and it is quite possible that the works which are referred to by Suṣamā but which are not available today, belong to this category of lost literature.

Śri Iyah Garu again remarks that the G.R.M. and Suṣamā were written by the same man, who had good powers of versification. The foregoing discussion is enough to disprove this statement. I would further suggest that any unprejudiced mind should go through the two works - particularly the commentary - and decide for itself whether the variety of styles, reflected in the different poetical compositions found therein, can reasonably be ascribed to one and the same genius. It is, indeed, a serious charge to say that any individual has concocted so many stanzas and ascribed them to persons of known fame by devising so many works of different names. This appears all the more mischievous when many of the works, thus challenged, can be proved either to have existed till recently (Bṛ.Ś.V. of Cit. or Pr.Ś.V. of Ānandagiri) or to exist even today

(Ācārya-Vijaya). The writer of the essay, it must be remarked, seems to look at the question of Kâncī mutt and its literature from a highly prejudiced point of view, which is most unbecoming in a critical or a research scholar.

I have discussed the biographies individually and at length to show their nature as such. From the discussion, it will have become quite clear that the biographers had meagre historical data to work upon and they handled it with all the addition to the original story that tradition could make by way of supernatural incidents. Not only they did not stop to examine and verify the tradition but each subsequent writer gave some new information of his own. Thus, if any-one makes an attempt to collect all the incidents described in all the biographies and to write an account of Śaṅkara's life accordingly, he will certainly be able to create quite a new biography. The biographers seem to feel that one more miracle added to the life-account is just another feather in Śaṅkara's crown of greatness. In that zeal, they have ignored the considerations of history on the one hand and have tried to cover up their ignorance of true history on the other. The unhistorical character of the works is in evidence in the mythical beginnings of many of them, free anticipation of future events (as in horoscope readings, visit of sages to Śaṅkara's house even before his Sannyāsa, to foretell his great future &c.), narration of improbabilities (e.g. Śaṅkara's encounter with Vyāsa-later writers have tried to whitewash the incident and Mādhava has succeeded best in the attempt), description in advance, of births of Citsukha, Padmapāda &c., who were later to become Śaṅkara's disciples. The most important thing about the works is that with such fund of information they seem to possess, not more than a couple of writers out of nearly 16 give particulars of the date of Śaṅkara's birth, death or any other incident. The two that give them differ to the extent of about 1200 years and both the dates appear to be historically unstable.

The motive also to write these works is more religious and less, if at all, historical. I have already referred to 'purification of my own mind' as the object of Sadānanda's work. Govindanaatha practically says the same thing.[39] At the end of the work, we are also given a phalaśruti. It is not intended to institute a Vyāpti between religious or devotional motive and the historical character of a work but in actual fact, the biographers have unfortunately proved the dictum of Dean Stanley that "the devout are not gifted with a genius for biography."

The 38th head - known as Abhinava-Śaṅkara - of the Kāncī Kāmakoti Pītha, is reported to have been as brilliant a figure as Śaṅkara of Kālaṭi and to have carried on an equally successful Digvijaya. It is also said that a Kashmir Pundit called Vākpati Bhatta wrote an account of his life (Śaṅkarendra-Vilāsa) and that the later biographers of the original Śaṅkara confused the two Śaṅkaras into one and attributed to the earlier one many of the incidents in the life of the later one. If this is true - there seems to be much

39. Compare : कृतं गोविन्दनाथेन यतिभक्तिसहायतः ।
इदं श्रीशङ्कराचार्यचरितं लोकपावनम् ॥ शं.च. IX : 65.

truth in this theory though in the absence of the original work, nothing can be said definitely - the historicity of many of the biographies becomes seriously questionable. None of these biographies, therefore, can be credited with independent historical value. They have to be put together and made mutually corroborative, in so far as they give some common information, sometimes dressed up in terms of the supernatural, more or less. I shall follow the line of the least miraculous and more of probability and possibility and try to arrive at a reasonably historical sketch of the great man's life. Before, however, actually going over to the life-account, it is necessary to tackle the vexed question of the date of Śaṅkara. In the next chapter, therefore, I propose to deal with that problem.

Chapter - V

THE DATE OF ŚAṄKARACĀRYA

"History is the one weak spot in Indian literature. It is, in fact, non-existent,"[1] says Dr. A. A. Macdonell. There is substantial truth in this statement. It may be that the lack of historical information is due to immense loss of literature and yet the fact remains that sense of history is largely absent in the native works. We still find people who look askance at questions of history or chronology, but the modern student of any writer in literature will first try to settle the period of his activity, his surroundings and his own history and try to study his writings in the light of information so gained.

The date of Śaṅkara is as uncertain and unsettled as most of the other dates in Sanskrit literature. Different persons have suggested and tried to prove different dates for him and they only serve to prove Prof. Whitney's remark that "dates in Indian History are so many pins, set up, only to be bowled down again."[2]

The date of Śaṅkara fluctuates over a period of about 4500 years. Thus (1) the author of Śukranādi places him 32 years before Śrikṛṣṇa while (2) the author of Dabistan[3] brings Śaṅkara down to 1349 A.D. (3) One Kāśi Pundit places him some 2500 years B.C. (Gatakali 605)[4] while (4) the author of Kannada Śaṅkara Vijaya says that he was born about the year 934 of Kaliyuga i.e. 2169 B.C.[5] The dates proposed by other scholars are : (5) Ticle, Max Muller and M. Barth have accepted the date 788 A.D.[6] Mr. M.R. Bodas, Dr. Belvalkar and K. Rama Pisharoti agree with this date, proposed by

1. Vide his History of Classical Sanskrit Literature - p.10.
2. Vide his introduction to Edn. of Sūryasiddhānta.
3. Vol.II, p.141.
4. Vide विचारत्रयी (Published by Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay) article आचार्यकालपरामर्शः by कृष्णानंदसरस्वती pp.408 to 415.
5. Andhra-Bharati, Vol.I, PEI, p.7.
6. (i) Outline of the history of ancient religions, Tiele, p.140.
   (ii) India - Max Muller - p.360.
   (iii) The Religion of India, p.89.

Prof. K.B. Pathak.[7] (6) K.T. Telang places Śaṅkara not later than 590 A.D.[8] (7) Dr. Fleet says that Nepāla Vaṁśāvali mentions Śaṅkara's visit to Nepal during the reign of Vṛṣadeva (630-655 A.D.), whose son Śaṅkaradeva was named after him. Thus, Śaṅkara belongs to the 7th century A.D.[9] Tilak, on the strength of a statement in a Mahānubhava work, called Darśana-prakāśa, also places him towards the end of hte 7th century A.D.[10] and Prof. B. Upādhyāya[11], Dr. Sahasrabudhe[12] and T.R. Cintāmani[13] agree with the same period generally. Pandit Bhāuśāstri Vaze also places Śaṅkara in the 7th century A.D. though at a slightly earlier period.[14] (8) B. Indraji says that Vṛṣadeva lived about 260 A.D.[15] (9) R. Bhandarkar fixes the date at the end of the 6th century A.D.[16] (10) W. Logan criticises the statement of Keralotpatti regarding the King Perumal Cherman and Śaṅkara and fixes his own date as first quarter of the 9th century A.D.[17] (11) M. Duff and K/B. Pathak rely on a chronogram Ācārya Vagabhedya found in Ārya Vidyā Sudhākara of Yajkeśava and give the dates 788 - 820 A.D. (12) Rāmacandraji places Śaṅkara in 610 A.D.[18] (13) Burnell follows Tāránatha's History of Buddhism and fixes 600 - 700 A.D.[19] (14) Kavali Ramasami,[20] Cowell[21] Gough[22] and Jacob[23] fix the date as 8th century. (15) Monier Williams gives 650 - 740 A.D.[24] (16) Wilson says 8th or 9th century A.D.[25] (17) Rice says Śaṅkara was born in 609 or 737 A.D. at Craganore.[26] (18) R. Mitra says 8th century A.D.[27] (19) T. Foulkes gives 650 - 670

7. (i) श्रीशङ्कराचार्य व त्यांचा सम्प्रदाय M.R. Bodas, p.16.
   (ii) Basu Mallick Lectures, Dr. Belvalkar, Vol.II, pp.208 & 216.
   (iii) Shāmāg - A magazine of art, literature and philosophy, 1928, pp.14 to 24 - Pisharoti.
8. I.A., Vol.XVIII, p.93 to 103.
9. I.A., Vol.XII to XIV and XVI.
10. Gitārahasya, p.559.
11. श्रीशङ्कराचार्य p.40.
12. Thesis on Pre-Śaṅkara Advaita Vedānta (Poona University).
13. Journal of Oriental Research, Vol.III, p.39.
14. "श्रीमच्छङ्कराचार्यांच्या काळाचा विचार" सह्याद्रि मासिक December, 1946.
15. I.A., Vol.XIII, p.412.
16. Report, 1882 -3, p.15.
17. I.A., Vol.XVI, p.160.
18. Lives of Eminent Hindu Authors.
19. Elements of South Indian Philosophy, p.33.
20. Deccan Poets - 6.
21. Preface to सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह p.viii.
22. Preface to Philosophy of Upaniṣads, p.viii.
23. Translation of Vedānta-sāra, p.23.
24. I.W. - 48
25. Preface to Sanskrit Dictionary, xvii, & Essays, I:377.
26. Mysore Gazetteer, I:377.
27. Notices, vii : 17.

A.D.[28] (20) N. Bhāṣyācarya reviews the dates and fixes end of the 5th century A.D. or in the middle of 4th and 6th century A.D.13[29] (21) Colebrooke says 1000 years ago, from his time (22) Taylor says 900 years ago, from his time, in his dedication to the translation of Prabodhacandrodaya. (23) S.V. Venkateśvar reviews some of these dates and says that Śaṅkara's age was 85 years and he lived from 809 A.D. to 895 A.D.[30]

The late Kāśīnātha Kṛṣṇa Lele, after an elaborate survey of the various dates proposed upto his time, assigns Śaṅkara as per K.B. Pathak's conclusion, Viz., 788 - 820 A.D.[31]

Recently, Prof.V.B. Athavale of Kirloskarwadi has proposed for Śaṅkara, quite a new date, Viz., 1st century A.D.[32]

In addition to these dates arrived at by modern critical students of Sanskrit literature, we have those upheld by the different mutts established by Śaṅkara (Śṛṅgeri places Śaṅkara in 1st century B.C., while Kāñcī, Dvārakā and Govardhana place him in 6th century B.C.) and also those appearing in Śaṅkara Vijayas (Bṛ.Ś.V., Pṛ.Ś.V. Śaṅkara Digvijaya Sara of Sadānanda, Bṛ.Ś.V. of Brahmānanda Sarasvati) and Purāṇas (Śiva Rahasya, and Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa). Even though these dates do not wholly agree, they seem to agree on one point, viz., that Śaṅkara preceded the Christian Era and then they variouslyl date him from 6th century B.C. to the first.

It is not necessary to try to examine the arguments of all the persons. Principaly, four dates only require to be considered and they are :

(1) The first Century A.D. - Prof. Athavale.

(2) 1st Century B.C. - Śṛṅgeri Mutt and Purāṇas.

(3) 788 A.D. to 820 or 825 A.D. - Prof. Pathak & Co., and 6th or 7th Century A.D. - Tilak and others.

(4) 6th Century B.C. - T.S. Nārāyana Śāstri and others 4 mutts.

The various dates can be reduced to these four main categories. I only propose to place on record the different pieces of evidence adduced in support of these four views and offer my criticisms. I shall, first, deal with Prof. Athavale's theory, since it appears to be the most untenable. His arguments are as follows :

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28. J.R.A.S., XVII, N.S.196.
29. Age of Śrī Śaṅkara - Adyar Library Pamphalet No.51.
30. J.R.A.S., 1916, p.151
31. श्रीशङ्कराचार्यांच्या कालनिर्णयाचा भाडावा' आचार्य (Fortnightly) - dated 13-5-1916, pp.17 to 31.
32. Vide his articles in
    (i) Poona Orientalist, Vol.XIX - 1954.
    (ii) Prabuddha Bhārata - July, 1957.
    (iii) The Call Divine - January, 1958.

(1) Prof. Athavale's Theory

(1) Kṛṣṣa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa and Bādarāyaṇa V6āsa are different persons and Śaṅkara has kept them distinct. Bād.Vyāsa compiled the Brahma-Sūtra but the Sūtras often refer to him by name.[33] Bādari or Śuka, his son and Jaimini also are referred to by name.[34] Jaimini, in turn refers to Bādarāyaṇa, by name.[35] This shows that all these persons, Bādarāyaṇa, Bādari and Jaimini were contemporaries. Both Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa refer to Yoga of Patanjali,[36] who preceded them all. Patanjali, in his Great Commentary, refers to the great sacrifice of King Puṣyamitra in such a manner tht he seems to have personally witnessed it. He refers to him in the present tense.[37] This king Puṣyamitra reigned about 185 B.C. Patanjali, therefore, is assigned to 150 B.C. and Bādarāyaṇa and Badari to about 100 B.C. Vyāsa is also said to have written a commentary on Yoga-sūtras. Hence also, his date can be fixed at 100 B.C. Śaṅkara is the 5th in descent from Bādarāyaṇa. Allowing about 25 years for each generation, we arrive at 1st century A.D. as the date of Śaṅkara.

(2) Both Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara quote from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in their commentaries on Uttara-Gīta and Viṣṇusahasranama respectively. The Bh.Purāṇa, according to tradition, was expounded by Bādari or Śuka, son of Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa. Though, therefore, the Purāṇa in the present form belongs to about 400 A.D., the original work was composed or compiled by Śukamuni in the first century B.C. To this original work, Śaṅkara and Gauḍapāda refer. Hence also, we get the 1st century A.D. as the date of Śaṅkara.

(3) Śaṅkara-Pīṭha at Kuḍur in Shimogā District in Mysore State possesses a record which says that Śaṅkara died in Vikrama Samvat 107 = 50 A.D.

(4) Sudhanwan was a Jain king and the Jainas retained the Yudhiṣṭhira Śaka with a difference of 527 years. A copper-plate grant issued by him to Śaṅkara bears the date as 2633 of Yudh. Śaka. According to Jain computation, this gives us 3160 of Kalikyuga = 1st century A.D. as the date of Śaṅkara.

(5) Kāmakoṭi-Pītha records 67 Ācāryas from Śaṅkara and Dwarka Pītha records 73 Ācāryas from Śaṅkara. Allowing 25 years for each generation, we get 1st Century A.D. as the date of Śaṅkara.

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33. Cf. Br. Sūtra i:3:26, 33; 3:4:1, 6 and 19; 4:3:15; 4:4:7.
34. Cf. Ibid. - Bādari - 1:2:30' 3:1:11; 4:3:7; 4:4:10.
Jaimini - I 2:28, 31; I:3:31; I:4:18 &c.
35. Cf. पू.मी.सूत्र I:1:5; V:2:19; VI:1:18
36. Cf.Br.Sūtra - 2:1:3 and 4:2:21.
Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā Sūtras - I:1:22 & IV:3:28
The refr. to Yoga in both these places is doubtful.
37. Ct. Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya - I:1:68; III:1:26, 123; VII:2:23.

This, in brief, is what Prof. Athavale has to say in support of his thesis. The following considerations can be urged against the same :

(1) The dates of Bādarāyaṇa, Śuka & c. are fixed with reference to the date of Patanjali, who procedes them all. But the date of Patanjali is not altogether beyond dispute.[38] Moreover, even if it is accepted as settled, there is no reason shown why Bādarāyaṇa should be placed only 50 years and not 100 or 200 years after him. Śaṅkara's date, therefore, cannot be said to be conclusive.

(2) That Śuka was the same as Bādari and the son of Bādarāyaṇa is an innovation. Prof. Athavale has furnished no evidence in favour of the identity of Śuka and Bādari. If Bādarāyaṇa is referred to by name in the Sūtras, so is Bādari at least three times.[39] The greater probability is that both Bādari and Bādarāyaṇa were earlier Ācāryas and Śukamuni who, according to tradition, recast the Sūtra, originally written by Bādarāyaṇa, refers to the views of both, just as he refers to the views of other earlier Ācāryas. Śaṅkara also makes a distinction between Bādarāyaṇa, to whom he sometimes prefixes the epithet Bhagawan[40] and Śukamuni, whom he refers to as Sūtrakāra.

(3) The Bhāgavata Purāna in the present form was definitely in existence in the 4th A.D., a fact admitted by Prof.Athavale. We do not know how many times and when it was revised and to which out of these Gaudapāda or Śaṅkara refers. Prof. Athavale has adduced no reason to show why either of them should be taken to refer to the original form of the Purāṇa, as expounded by Śukamuni.

(4) The Kudur mutt is not one of the principal mutts established by Śaṅkara. We do not know how far its records are reliable. The record in question also has not been produced in the original. Alternatively, the reference also tallies with the year of passing away of Kṛpāśaṅkara, the 9th head of Kāncī-Pītha, which, according to Puṇyaślokamanjari, is about 150 A.D.

(5) King Sudhanwan was originally a Jain but at the time of the grant, he was a pucca convert to Hinduism - so we are told by Citsukha, Madhava and Sudānanda. It is, therefore, not only not necessary but quite wrong to add any number of years to the date given according to Yudhiṣthira Śaka, to arrive at the

38. According to Kalhana's Rājataranginī, the king Puṣyamitra founded the Śuṅga Dynasty and ruled Magadha between 1219 B.C. and 1159 B.C. If Patanjali were his contemporary, he cannot be placed in 150 B.C.

39. Vide Br̥.Sū. I :2:30; III:1:11; IV:4:10.

40. Read : (i) भगवतो बादरायणस्य तत्तथैव तिष्ठति । ब्र.सू.भाष्य III:4:8

(ii) ...इत्यतो भगवान् बादरायण आचार्य उत्तरं पठति । Ibid. IV:4:22.

proper date according to Hindu reckoning. It is also to be noted that the number of years to be added to the Jain Yudhiṣṭhira Śaka is 468 and not 527.

(6) Along with Dwārkā and Kāncī Pīthas, Śaṅkara established another at Puri, which records 142 Ācāryas. If we are to allot 25 years to each ācārya, we shall be forced to reduce to its half either the number of ācāryas or that of years to each, to be able to preserve the date viz., 1st century A.D. In the case of the Śṛṅgeri mutt, which has only about 35 ācāryas, we shall have to double one of the two figures.

This hypothesis, therefore, has to be given up as being opposed to all tradition and as being based on arbitrary assumptions. The professor has also not attempted to show why the other dates, already in the field, need to be reconsidered. I therefore, go over to the next theory.

(2) First Century B.C. : Śṛṅgeri tradition : According to the Śṛṅ. Mutt Śaṅkara was born in Vikrama Samvat 14 i.e. 44 B.C. and passed away in Vikrama Samvat 46 = 12 B.C According to Mr. Bodas, this date is found in the Śṛṅgeri-Guruparamparā Stotra, published by B. Surya Narayaṇa Roa.[1] In the stangas inscribed on one of the walls of Śri Śāradāmba Mandir at Kālati, the same period is suggested (about 2,000 years back). Later on in this chapter, I am going to mention a tradition relating to Samādhi of Śaṅkara's mother and that points in the same direction. This (1st cent. B.c.) tradition, however, is not unanimous and is open to the following objection:

(1) Saṅkeśvara Mutt, which is a branch of Śṛṅgēri Mutt, refers to 2122 of Yudhiṣṭhira Śaka the correct figure yielded would be 917 B.C. and not 380 B.C. Sarvajit Samvat, Mārgaśiras Śuddha 5th, as the date of Śaṅkara's birth.[2] According to Mr. Lele, this date yields 380 B.C. as the year of Śaṅkara's birth. If, however, this is really the Dharmaśaka or Yudhiṣṭhira śaka is according to the Jain reckoning, in which case we have to arrive at the proper date by adding 468 years ti this figure. When that is done, we get the date as 3101-(2122 + 468) = 3101-2590 = 510B.C.,[3] which squares with the second pre-Christian date for Śaṅkara, viz. 509 B.C. to 477 B.C.

(2) Mr. K. K. Lele has cited some stansas from the Guruparamparā-Stotra of Śṛṅgeri Mutt and they tell us that Śàṅkara was bron in 3889 Gatakali = 788 A.D. established the Śṛṅgeri mutt in 3909 Gatakali = 808 A.D. and passed away in 3921 Gatakali = 820 A.D.[4]

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1. History of Vijayanagar - P. XVI; -Vide F.Note on page 19 of श्रीशङ्कराचार्य M. R. Bodas.
2. Vide श्रीशङ्कराचार्योंच्या कालनिर्णयाचा आढावा by K. K. Lele "आचार्य" पाक्षिक dated 13-5-1916, p.25
3. It seems that many figures referring to Dharma Śaka according to Hindu computation refer to Kali Era.
4. The stanzas quoted rear:

Birth (i) निधिनागेभवन्त्यब्दे विभवे मासि माधवे । शुक्ले तिथौ दशम्यां तु शङ्करार्योदयः स्मृतः ॥
sṛ.Mutt. (ii) कल्यब्दे निधिवाङ्काग्नि शेषसंवत्सरे मठमु । संस्थाप्य भारतीपीठं संगमे तुङ्गभद्रयोः ॥
Death (iii) कल्यब्दे चन्द्रनेत्राङ्के वन्त्यब्दे चाविशद्गुहाम् । आचार्य पाक्षिक dt. 13-5-1916 p.27

In one of the articles, published by Viṣṇuśarman (Late Shri V. V. Athalye, Śiposī), the writer has quoted the Śṛṅgeri Guruparamara in part[5] and it contains the stanzas quoted by Mr. Lele.

It will be seen that these particulars conflict with the date 1st century B.C., held by the Śṛṅgeri Mutt.

Secondly, the Guruparamparā given by Viṣṇuśarman in the Stotra quoted by him, notably differs from that published by Vāṇī Vilāsa press, Srirangam and also from the one given by Śrī Bālasubramania Iyer, a staunch and devoted adherent of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt.[6] The stotras say he was 12th only.

(3) Visṇuśarman reproduces, in one of his articles,[7] a letter received by his father from the Śṛṅgeri Mutt. The letter quotes certain stanzas, which say that Śaṅkara's Great Grand Father was Vidvanmahendra, his grandparents were Sarvajña and Kāmâkahi, his parents were Viśvajit and Viśiṣta and that Śaṅkara was born at Cidambaram. The stansas quoted appear (excepting the last) in Chapter III of Anantānandagiri's ŚaṅkaraVijaya, (printed edition). Śṛṅgeri Mutt people would be the last to accept these genealogical particulars since it is because of these alone appearing in the printed edition of Anantānandagiri's work that they reject it as historically valueless.

Lastly, the stanzas quoted include the famous stanza "प्रासूत तिष्यशरदाम्" &c., which properly belongs to Nilakaṇtha's Śaṅkaramandārasaurabha (I:29).

All this confusion and contradiction cannot prove any theory and, therefore, we cannot rely upon the Śṛṅgeri tradition.

The late Śri Śrikṛṣṇa Śāstri Athalye has given some stanzas as from Jinavijaya.[8] The stanzas relevant to the present enquiry give the years of Śaṅkara's birth and death as 2158 Yudhi. Śaka = 2625 Y.Ś. = 477 B.C. and 2189 Y.Ś 2657Y.Ś 445 B.C. resp.

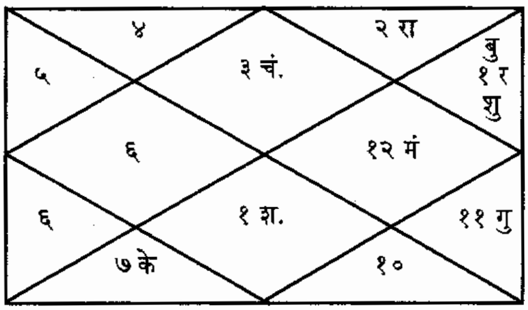
2 The passage which contains these stanzas refers to Śaṅkara's birth at Cidambar, from Viśvajit and Viśiṣta[9]. Again, if at all any pre-christian date is to be accepted for Śaṅkara, 477 B.C. happens to be the year of his passing away and not of his birth. Both the dates in the passage tally with no version and the genealogical particulars also are obviously wrong.

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5. Vide आचार्य पाक्षिक dated 3-7-1914, p. 19.
6. Vide 'Greatness of Śṛṅgeri', pp. 78 to 80.
7. Vide आचार्य पाक्षिक dated 11-7-1916, p.
8. Vide श्रीमच्छङ्कराचार्यचरित्र by श्रीकृष्णशास्त्री आठल्ये Introduction, p. 6.
9. The stanzas are: ऋषिर्बाणस्तथा भूमिर्मर्त्याक्षौ वाममेलनात् ।
एकत्वेन लभेताङ्कस्ताभ्राक्षक्स्त:धि वत्सर ॥
नन्दो वसुर्भूमिनेत्रै मेलने शक उत्तमः ।
शङ्करस्य शरीरस्याऽवसानममवत्तदा ॥ Ibid - pp.6 & 7.

The same writer gives two more stanzas,[10] one from 'some' Jain work and the other as from a work called Dīkśa-Mīmāṁsa by Bhāskara-rāya, in the private collection of some person at Kāśī (in 1889 A.D.)[11]. The first stanza seems to mean that Śaṅkara was born when 887 years had remained of Yudhiṣṭhira Śaka, which gives the year of his birth as 2625 of Y.Ś. = 477 B.C. (3044-887 = 2157 + 468 = 2625 Y.S. = 477 B.C.). The second stanza gives us 2500 B.C. as the year of Śaṅkara's birth - which is a fantastic figure both stanzas yield figures which do not tally with each other nor with any theory worth consideration.

Mr. Āthalye's conclusion from all this is that Śaṅkara must have flourished about 2000 years prior to the time of his writing i.e. 1889 A.D.[12] The conclusion is obviously wrong. He has not properly distinguished between the Hindu and Jain reckonings of Yudhiṣṭhira Śaka. He has only tried to make his calculation approximate to the Śṛṅgeri tradition.



आर्द्रा द्वितीय चरण

Śri Āthalye, Editor, Keralakokil, claims to have produced the original horoscope of Śaṅkara as follows:[13]

The other particulars are as follows:

कल्पादिगताब्द ३०५८, ईश्वरनामसंवत्सरे वेशख शु ॥ १५ रविवासरे, १२-३४, आर्द्रा नक्षत्रे ५२-२१, आत्मायोगे ३-४५, बाह्यकरणे १२-३४, अहः प्रमाणम् ३०-२८, मुक्ति १-२७, एतस्मिन् शुभविने सूर्योवयादिजन्मकालघटि-कादिभिः ११-१५, मिथुनलग्ने मुक्ते ४-१२ शेष, १-३ मिथुनलग्ने चन्द्रहोरायां बुधदेष्काणे वृषभशुक्नावांशे शनि द्वादशांशे बुध त्रिशांशे आद्यजगद्गुरुजन्म ॥

10. Ibid. Introduction - p. 10 - the stanzas run as follows:
    (i) ऋषिर्वसुर्वसुज्ञेयः पाण्डवानां महात्मनाम् । गणना शेषकालस्य शकस्य शिवजन्मनि ॥ Jain work not named.
    (ii) वर्षेष्क्तोतेषु शतेषु षट्सु तिष्येऽक्तीर्णो मुनिशङ्करार्यः ।
    शिष्यैश्चतुर्भिः सहितं शिवादिं पारम्परीकावधिमानमा
11. Śri Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvati quotes the second stanza in his article on Śaṅkara's period in Vicāratrayī, pp. 409, as from दीक्षापध्वति, called सौभाग्यचन्द्रोदय.
12. Vide his श्रीमच्छङ्कराचार्यचरित्र Introd. p. 10.
13. Vide जगद्गुरु श्रीमच्छङ्करचार्य यांचें विस्तृत ऐतिहासिक चरित्र p. 28.

The late Śrī V. V. Athalye has raised four solid objections to this horoscope.[14] They are:

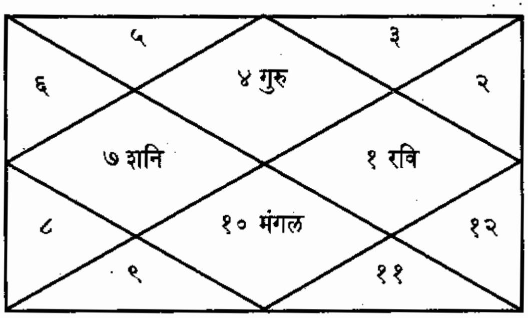
(1) If the day of birth was a Fullmoon day, the Sun and the Moon must have been in opposite positions. If, therefore, the Sun is in Meṣa-rāshi, the Moon must be in Tūlā-rāśi or else the Pūrṇima as the day of birth is wrong.

(2) Since again, the day of birth is the Full-moon day of Viśākha, according to the rule of astronomy regarding the naming of months after the constellation near which the Moon happens to be on the Full-moon day, the constellation at the time of Śaṅkara's birth ought to have been Viśākhā and not Ārdrā, as given in the horoscope.

(3) Both the biographics, of Śrīkṛṣṇa śāstri Athalye and of Athalye of Keralakokil, claim to follow the Saṅkśepa-Śaṅkara-Jaya of Madhava and as such, their horoscope particulars should have talled with those in Mādhava's work. This latter work mentions these conditions in the following stanza:

लग्ने शुभे शुभयुते सुषुवे कुमारिम् ।
श्रीपार्वतीय सुखिनी सुशवीक्षिते च ॥
जाया सती शिवगुरोर्निजतुङ्गसंस्थे ।
सूर्ये कुजे रविसुते च गुरौ च केन्द्रे ॥ *** Ch.II : St.71

This can be roughly represented in the following manner:



Compared with this, the horoscope as given by Śrī Athalye, Keralakokila, stands disproved.

(4) Keralakokila Athalye has produced three certificates from astrologers, out of which two are incomplete and the third does not say much. Whatever, however, it says is enough to disprove the horoscope. It says:

"In this horoscope, Śani (Saturn) is in Dhanarāsi and Guru (Jupiter) in Kumbharāśi, while in 5010, calculating 3058 from 1911 A.D., Guru (Jupiter) is in Karkarāśi. In 5009, it is in Dhanarāśi and Śani (Saturn) in Mīnarāśi. The stars Śani, Guru and Ketu

14. Vide Ācārya (Fortnightly) dated 2.8.1914

(Saturn, Jupiter & Ketu) are not in accordance with their respective positions in the year to which the horoscope refers. In 5010, it was Samvat 14 and its name was Vibhava whereas it is given as Īśvara in the horoscope."

Śrī V. V. Athalye very rightly says that in view of these discrepanices, the horoscope cannot be accepted as genuine and hence though Śrī Keralakokil Athalye says that Śaṅkara is proved to have been born 1951 years before 1910 A.D., in which year he wrote his book, it has to be treated as not proved by the evidence of the horoscope. The very certificate he produces as being in his favour, contradicts his claim and disproves the horoscope. He also adds that the said writer claims that his conclusion is confirmed by the information received from the Śṛṅgeri Mutt but he does not mention what information he obtained during his personal visit to the Mutt. On the contrary, the information that was actually received as per the letter of the said mutt was directly opposed to it.

One small point deserves note. To be a genuine horoscope, it must be the one prepared by Śivaguru, Śaṅkara's father, just after Śaṅkara's birth. In such a horoscope, Śaṅkara's birth would not be referred to as "the birth of Ādya Jagadguru", which expression appears at the end. From this also, it seems clear that this horoscope produced by him must have been prepared by someone afterwards.

An approximation to the 1st century B.C. theory is afforded by two Śaṅkara-Vijayas, viz. Śaṅkara-Digvijaya-Sāra of Sadānanda and Bṛ.Ś.V. by Brahmānanda Saraswati and two Purāṇas Viz. Śivarahasya and Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa.

(1) Sadānanda tells us that Śaṅkara was born in 2722 of Yudhiṣṭhira Śaka, Sarvajit Saṁvatsara, 5th day of saha (i.e. Mārgaśiras).[1] There are two objections:

(i) These particulars are found in the Saṅkeśvara mutt-manuscript of Sadānanda's work. According to Mr. Lele, however, Saṅkeśvara mutt had given the year 2122 of Yudhiṣṭhira Śaka and as I have shown already, at the most, that year, viz. 2122 Y.Ś. approximates to the other pre-Christian date viz. 6th century B.C. for Śaṅkara. As they stand, the two years, belonging to the same source, do not agree.

(ii) The printed edition of Sadānanda's work[2] does not contain these particulars at all. It only tells us that Śaṅkara was born at an auspicious hour when the five stars were in top positions.[3]

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1 Read: धर्मे द्वाविंशतिशके सप्तशक्तिसहस्रके
शब्दे सर्वजिते जातः सहे वै पंचमी दिने ॥ शां.दि.सार II : 33

2. Copy each of this printed edition is to be found in the libraries of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt, Śṛṅgeri and Govt. College, Kumbakonam.

3. The stanza is as follows: सुमुहूर्ते शुभे लग्ने ह्युच्चस्थग्रहपंचके ।
सा सती सुषुये पालं शंकराख्यं जगद्गुरुम् ॥ शां.चि.सार. II : 33 (printed edn.)
II : 34 (ms .)

(2) Brahmānanda Sarasvati does not mention the year of Śaṅkara's birth, the other particulars of which he gives in details.[1] He gives the year of Kumārila's birth as 2930 of Kaliyuga = 172 B.C.[2] Śaṅkara met him towards the end of his life and therefore can be placed according to this biographer, in about 125 B.C.

This is opposed to all trsdition, ancient or modern and the authority of the work also is shown to be highly questionable. This also, therefore, has to be set aside.

(3) According to both the Śivarahasya and Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa, Śaṅkara was to be born after 2000 years of Kaliyuga had elapsed.[3]

Both these Purāṇas, as many others like Liṅga, Kūrma, matsya, Saura &c. refer to Śaṅkara in the future tense and the references also are too vague. Their authority, therefore, cannot be relied upon.

The version of Śivarahasya also seems to be contradicted. Late Śri V. V. Athalye quotes a stanza from Śivarahasya, 10th Aṁśa, giving the year of Śaṅkara's birth as 788 A.D. Vibhava Samvatsara.[4] The Commentary on this stanza confirms the particulars by two more stanzas,[5] whose sources are not mentioned.

If this stanza is more genuine than the first reference in Śivarahasya, that reference is disproved. Regarding the date given by this stanza, I shall say a good deal while discussing the next therory of Śaṅkara's date.

Purāṇas mostly seem to favour the view that Śaṅkara was born about 3000 after commencement of Kaliyuga. The references in Purāṇas perhaps represent a confusion

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1. Read:
वर्षे चेश्वरसंज्ञके तु विमले वैशाखमासे परे । पञ्चम्यां हरऋक्षदाकेन्दुदिवसे पक्षे तु शुक्लाभिधे । उच्चस्थे ग्रहपंचके रविशशी त्यक्त्वा वृषे लग्नके । चाऽर्याम्बा सुषुव सुतम्..... । वृ.शं.वि. Ch.IX.

2. Read:
त्रिसाहस्त्रवत्सराणां कलौ तु पापरूपके । सत्प्रतिन्यूनके वर्षे चानले सौरमानतः । कृतिकामासि षष्ठ्यां तु विशासे शक्षके भृगो । वासरे ब्राह्मणस्याःस्य कुमारस्तनयोऽभक्तृ ॥ Ibid.

3. Śivarahasya सहस्रद्वितपात्परम् ।
Bhaviṣyottara कल्पादौ द्विसहसाम्ते लोकानुग्रहकाम्या ।
चतुर्भिः सह शिष्यैस्तु शङ्करोऽवतरिष्यति ॥

4. Read: निधिनागेभवन्त्यब्दे विभवे मासि माधवे ।
शुक्लपक्षे दशम्यां तु शङ्करार्योदयः स्मृतः ॥ 10th

5. The commentary reads: निधिनागेभवन्त्यब्द इति गतकलेर्पत्सर इति ज्ञेयम् ।
निधिनागेयवशब्दे विभवे शङ्करोदयः ।
अयं कल्पादितो शेयः शुभीभिर्वननिर्णयः । इत्यन्यत्र वचनात् । तथा च वचनान्तरम् -
व्योमभूवाजिसंख्याङ्के (७१०) शलिवाहशाके शुभे ।
विभवेऽब्दे शुक्लपक्षे वैशखे दशभी तिथौ ॥
श्रीशङ्करः प्रादुरासीद्ब्राह्मण्यस्थितिगुप्तये ॥
quoted by Sri Athalye in आचार्य पाक्षिक dt. 19-7-1914, p.15

between Kaliyuga and Dharma or Yudhiṣṭhira Śaka though the two are clearly separated by about 37 years. They also seem to use the Dharma Śaka according to the Jain reckoning. Mr. T. S. N. Śāstri says that Śṛṅgeri mutt tradition regarding Śaṅkara's time refers to the Jain Yudhi. Śaka and when properly rendered into Hindu Yudh. Śaka, it also conforms to the tradition of the other mutts. Perhaps, the same remark applies, more or less, to references in Purāṇas and other work, which place Śaṅkara just a little prior to the beginning of the Christian Era. If therefore, the Purāṇas and similar works prove anything, they prove the 6th cent. B.C. as the date for Śaṅkara. This, however, cannot be said to be conclusive.

(3) Prof. Pathak's theory - 788 A.D. to 820 A.D.

This theory is very closely associated with the name of Prof. K. B. Pathak and is the one that can be said to hold the field even today. Prof. Pathak relied upon a manuscript belonging to Mr. Govinda Bhatta Yerlekar, Belgaum (1882 A.D.) and it contains the following stanzas:[1]

दुष्टाचारविनाशाय प्रादुर्भूतो महीतले । स एव शङ्कराचार्यः साक्षात्-कैवल्यनायकः ॥ निधिनागेमवन्ह्यब्दे विभवे शङ्करोदयः । कस्यब्दे चन्द्रनभाङ्क वराब्दे चाविशुद्धगुहाम् । वैशाखे पूर्णिमावां तु शङ्करः शिक्तामगात् ॥

From this, we get 788 A.D. and 820 A.D. as the years of Śaṅkara's birth and passing away respectively. This statement has received support from a number of sources, directly and indirectly. They are as follows:

(1) Nilakantha, in his Śaṅkaramandārassurabha gives the date of Śaṅkara's birth as follows :

प्रासूत तिष्यशरदामतियातवत्यामेकादशाधिकशतोनचतुसहस्याम् ।
संवत्सरे विभवनाम्नि शुभे मुहूर्ते राये सिते शिवगुरोर्गृहिणी दशम्याम् ॥ I : 27

This means that Śaṅkara was born when 4000 years, less by 111 years i.e. 3889 years of Kaliyuga had already passed i.e. in 788 A.D.

(2) Nīlakaṇṭha Bhatta in his work Śaṅkarābhyudaya is said to give the same particulars, when he says:[2]

नवाधिकाशीतियुताष्टशत्यां युक्ते सहस्रेत्रितथे व्यतीते ।
कलेः धेसमानां विभवाब्दराधेसिते दशम्यामुदभून्महेशः ॥

(3) Bālakṛṣṇa-Brahmānanda in his Śaṅkara-Vijaya gives the same dates of Śaṅkara's birth and death in terms of both the Kali-yuga and Śālivāhana Śaka reckoning thus[1]:

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1. Ind. Ant. Vol. IX - P. 174
2. Vide I:26 (this work has now been traced).

सहस्रद्वितयादूर्ध्वे एकोनविंशके शते।
एकादशोनसंख्याके वत्सरे कलिमानतः ॥ St. 10

निधिनागेभवशब्दे विभवे शङ्करोदयः ॥
कलौ तु शालिवाहस्य सखेन्दुशतसप्तके ॥ St. 11

विकारिनामके वर्षे कैलासमगमत्स्वयम् ।
कल्पब्दे भूदुगङ्काग्निसंमिते शङ्करो गुरुः ॥
शालिवाहशके त्वक्षिसिभ्यसप्तमितेऽन्धुगात् ॥ St. 22

(4) I have already quoted stanzas from Śivarahasya, 10th Aṁśa, with the additional stanzas given in the commentary therson and from Śṛṅgerī-Jagadguru paramparā stotra, giving the same particulars of Śaṅkara's birth and death viz. 788 A.D. and 820 A.D. respectively, in terms of Kali-yuga reckoning.

(5) Late Śrī V.V.Athalye and Late Śrī K. K. Lele give some additional stanzas[2] without their sources. They mainly refer to Śaṅkara's passing away in 820 A.D. Only one of them seems obviously to refer to the establishment of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt in 808 A.D.

(6) Both Shri Athalye and Shri Lele Give another stanza, giving the same particlars and say that generally Kirtanakaras are said to us it.[3]

(7) Shri Athalye cites another stanza as from Tātparyanirṇaya, giving the same particulars.[4]

This is the evidence is as follows:

(i) Scholars generally agree that at least the metrical portion of Upadeśasāhasrī

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1. The work is still untraced. Prof. B.Upadhyaya & Shri. 1 Ranade Shastri have quoted the stanzas in their works-vide (i) श्रीशङ्कराचार्य p.35 (only referred to); (ii) शङ्करदिग्विजय of विधारण्य Intro. - p.4.
2. Vide "आचार्य" Fortnightly dated 19-7-1914, p. 16 and 13.5. 1916, p. 27. The stanzas quoted are :
   1) कल्पब्दे नवखाङ्काग्निसंख्याङ्के सर्वजिच्छते ।
   शालिवाहशके त्रिंशदुत्तरे शतसप्तके ॥
   2) कल्पब्दे भूमिनेत्राहकगुणसंख्ये सुहायने ।
   विकारिनामके तस्मिन् वैशाख्यां शिक्ताभागात् ॥
   3) कल्यब्दे चन्द्रनेत्राहकवशब्दे मासि माधये ।
   पूर्णिमायां हिमवती गुहायामाविशद्गुरुः ॥
   4) शालिवाहशके द्रव्यब्धिहयसंख्ये स शङ्करः ।
   विकारिनामके तस्मिन् वैशाख्यां शिवतामगात् ॥
3. Vide "आचार्य" dated 19-7-1914, p. 17 and dated 13-5-1916, p. 27 - The stanza is :
अष्टात्रिंशशते नवत्यनुगते तिष्यस्य काले गते । जातो वैभवराधशुक्लदशमीतिथ्यां गुरुः शङ्कर ॥
4. Vide "आचार्य" dated 2-8-1914, p. 21. The stanza runs:
चतुःसहस्रे त्रिशतोत्तरे गते संवत्सराणां तु कलेः पृथिव्याम् । जातः शिवः ह ॥

is by Śaṅkara. In Chapter XVIII, he has written a stanza,[5] which Ānandagiri the commentator of Śureśvara's Brhadaraṇya Bhāṣya-Vārtika definitely ascribes to Dharmakīrti (650 A.D.)

(ii) While commenting upon the Brahma-Sūtra, 2:2:28, Śaṅkara clearly refers to Sahopalam-bhaniyama.[6] This reference is in connection with the stanza[7] from Pramāṇa-Viniscaya and Pramāṇa-Vārtika of Dharmakīrti (650 A.D.).

These references show that Śaṅkara came after Dharmakīrti, whose period is fixed at about 650 A.D. Fa Hian, the Chinese traveller, wrote in 695 A.D. that Dharmakīrti was his contemporary.

(iii) At Bṛ. Sū. 2:2:28, Śaṅkara refers to one stanza ''यदन्तर्ज्ञेयरूपं तद्बहिर्वदवभासते ॥'' इति which is only a quotation from Ālambana-Parīkśa of Diṅna&Cga.[8] This Diṅnâga was the last of the disciples of Vasubandhu, who belongs to the end of the 4th century A.D. Diṅnāga, therefore, belongs to the 5th century A.D. and Śaṅkara naturally comes after that.

(iv) Śaṅkara has referred to the Kāśika-Vṛtti on Pāṇini's Sūtras.[9] This Vṛtti belongs to the 7th century A.D. Śaṅkara, therefore, was later than the 7th century A.D.

(v) Śaṅkara's immediate disciple Sureśvara, refers to Dharmakīrti by name in his Vārtikas on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Bhāṣya.[10] According to his commentator, Ānandagiri, the stanza intended by Sureśvara is अभिन्नोऽपि हि युध्द्यात्मा &c. also taken by Śaṅkara in his Upadeśa-Sāhasri (just quoted). Thus Sureśvara also comes after 650 A.D. Śaṅkara, a younger contemporary of Sureśvara, comes still later.

(vi) Sarvajñātman, the disciple of Sureśvara or Deveśvara, refers to a king Manukulāditya of his own time. This king cannot be placed earlier than 9th or

5. The stanza reads:
अभिन्नोऽपि हि बुद्ध्यात्मा विपर्यासितदर्शनैः ॥ ग्रात्यग्रोहकसंवित्तिमेदवानिथ लक्ष्यते ॥ उप.सा.उत्तरभाग 18 : 142

6. Read:
''इह तु यथास्वं सर्वैरेव....। अत एव सहोपलम्मनियमोऽपि प्रत्ययथिवययोरुपायोपेयमायहेतुक । माऽमेवहेतुक इत्यभ्युपयन्सन्व्यम् ॥ ब्र.सू. 2:2:28

7. The stanza is :
सहोपलम्यनियमादमेदो मोलततृथियो । मेदश्च भ्रान्तविज्ञातैर्दृश्यतेवाधियाऽदये ॥

8. The stanza referred to is:
यवन्तर्ज्ञेयरुपं तववहिर्थदवभासते । सोऽर्थो विज्ञानरूपत्वात्तत्प्रत्ययतथाऽपि च ॥

9. Vide: Ind.Anti. Vol.XLII - p.235

The refr. is understood by Prof.K.B.Pathak on the authority of Ānandajnāna, commenting on Śaṅkara-Chh.Up.Bh. at 1 : 1 : 4

10. The stanza reads: त्रिष्वेव त्वविनाभावादिति यद्धर्मकीर्तिना । प्रतिज्ञायि प्रतिज्ञेयं ष्ह्रिये तासौ न संशयः ॥ बृ.भा.वा. 4 : 3

10th cewntury A.D. Sureśvara and Śaṅkara, therefore, have to be placed somewhere towards the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century, A.D.

(vii) There is general agreement that Śaṅkara had met Kumārila Bhatta, the great Mīmāṁsaka, thopugh no discussion took place between them. It is also agreed that Kumārila was the eleder of the two and that Śaṅkara was only his younger contemporary. If, therefore, the date of Kumārila can be determined, Śaṅkara's date is automatically settled. Kumārila's date can be gathered from the following evidence:

(a) Kumārila in his own work has referred to Kālidāsa and therefore comes after him. Śaṅkara cimes after Kumārila. According to Mr. K. K. Lele, Kālidasa belongs to the latter half of the 5th century A.D.[11] Śaṅkara's date, therefore, is 6th or 7th century A.D.

(b) Diṅnāga was a contemporary of Kālidāsa. His views have been refuted by Kumārila. Śaṅkara, then belongs to 6th or 7th century A.D.

(c) It sing, the Chinese traveller, says that the well-known grammarian Bhartṛhari, the author of Vākyapadīya died in 650 A.D. This Bhartṛhari has been refuted by Kumārila. Śaṅkara, therefore, cannot be placed earlier than the 7th century A.D.

(d) Sureśvara quotes Dharmakīrti by name. This Sureśvara, as Maṇḍana, was the disciple of Kumārila, who therefore, belongs to the 7th century A.D. Śaṅkara, therefore, cannot be placed earlier.

(e) The well-known Jain scholar, Akalaṅka, has been refuted by Sureśvara, who, in turn, has been criticised by Akalaṅka's disciples. Akalaṅka himself cities from Bhartṛhari and Dharmakīrti and according to tradition, he was a contemporary of the Rāṣtrakūta King Sāhastuṅga Dantidurga. The date of this King is given by the Samanagad grant of Śaka 675 i.e. 753 A.D. Akalaṅka does not seem to have survived to answer Kumārila's criticism. He has also been cited by Jinasena in his Ādipurāṇa, written in Śaka 760 = 838 A.D. Akalaṅka, therefore, belongs to the middle of the 8th century A.D. Kumarila is then assigned to about the same period snd Śaṅkara to the end of the century.[12]

(viii) Keralotpatti states that Śaṅkara was bron at the time of the war, fought during

11. Vide 'Ācārya' Fortnightly - dated 13-5-1916, p.28.
12. Vide Dr. S. K. Belvalkar's Vedanta Philosophy (Basu Mullick Lectures), Ch.VI,pp.210/11

the reign of Perumal Cherman, who, it is said, subsequently embraced Islam and set out for Mecca. Records of Tahafal-ul-Mujahidin seem to identify this King and mention his death near about 827 A.D. Travancore State still observes a related tradition and Kollam era begins from 825 A.D., perhaps to indicate and commemorate the abdication of his throne by this illustrious King. Śaṅkara's date therefore, eminently agrees with the one proposed by Prof. Pathak.[1]

(ix) At Brāhma Sūtra - 1:3:33[2], Śaṅkara refers to the absence of any Emperor (Sarvabhauma King) at the time. Dr. Belvalkar argues that the 5th century A.D. in Northern India was dominated by the Gupta Emperors and the seventh by Harṣavardhana and Pulakeśin in the Decan and Mahendravarman and Nṛsimhavarman in the South. With these emperors then living, Śaṅkara would not have made such a statement. He, therefore, must have come long after that period.[3]

All these arguments have been used to prove that the two dates 788 A.D. and 820 A.D., as referring to the appearance and disappearance of Śaṅkara, are borne out by internal and external evidence. Some scholars, however, believe that if this period of Śaṅkara's life is accepted as true, certain other things cannot be properly explained. These scholars, therefore, propose to take back the date at least by a hundred years, if not more. Their arguments are:

(1) Gauḍapāda was Śaṅkara's grand-preceptor. He wrote a commentary on Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāṁkhya kārikās. That commentary was translated into Chinese by Paramārtha between 546 A.D. and 569 A.D. and there cannot be a gap of over 250 years between him and his grand-disciple, Śaṅkara.

Dr. Belvalkar tries to show that this argument is vitiated by the finding of a Māṭhara Vṛtti on the said Kārikās. This Vṛtti was the basis of Paramārtha's translation and Gauḍapāda's commentary. The date 546 A.D. to 569 A.D. refers to the Vṛtti and not to Gauḍapāda's commentary on the Kārikās.[4]

As against this, it may be noted that Principal R. D. Karmarkar has shown on several grounds that Gauḍapāda cannot be placed much after 500 A.D.[5] Śaṅkara's date, therefore, cannot be removed by 300 years from this one.

(2) Nyāyasūci-nibhandha of Vācaspati was written about 841 A.D. The upper limit for Śaṅkara, therfore, is settled, since Vācaspati wrote his

1. Vide Ind. Ant. - Vol. XVI - p. 160.
2. Read: इदानीमिव च नान्यदाऽपि सार्वभौम क्षत्रिकेऽस्तीनि ब्रूयात् ।
3. Vide Dr. Belvalkar's Vedanta Philosophy (B.M. Lectures), Ch. VI,p.216.
4. Vedanta Philosophy (B.M.Lectures), Dr. Belvalkar,p.213
5. Introduction to the edition of Māṇḍūkya Karikas, p.iv

commentary Bhāmati on Śaṅkara's Vedānta-Sūtra-Bhāṣya. Vācaspati also criticises Padmapāda, Śaṅkara's disciple. A space of mere 20 years is not sufficient for so much polemics.[7]

Dr. Belvalkar tries to meet this objection by saying that regarding Padmapāda, the interval is sufficient. Regarding Bhāskara, his position is uncertain. The stanza, supposed to have been quoted by Vācaspati is itself quoted by Bhāskara.[8]

(3) Vidyānanda, who refers to Sureśvara, had been referred to by Jinasena in Ādipurāṇa. Sureśvara, therefore, is about two generations earlier than 783 A.D. (Jinasena's Harivaṁsa was written in 783 A.D.). If he is to have been Śaṅkara's disciple, Śaṅkara must be placed earlier than 788 A.D. Dr. Sahasrabuddhe suggests that Vidyānanda was a pontiff in 751 A.D.[9]

Dr. Belvalkar says firstly, that Maṇḍana-Sureśvara identity is not true. Sureśvara was but Maṇḍana was not a disciple of Śaṅkara.[10] Secondly, Jinasena's literary career extended from 783 A.D. to 838 A.D. Ādipurāṇa, written in 838 A.D., refers to Vidyānanda. Vidyananda and Sureśvara, therefore, were at best contemporaries.[11]

(4) Both Maheśvara and Hariswāmi were disciples of Skanda and hence contemporaries, more or less. Hariswāmi, in his commentary on Śatapatha, gives the date of his writing as Kali year 3740 i.e. 638 A.D.

Maheśvara's date, therefore, is about the same period. Maheśvara, in his Mimāṁsā Śloka Vārtika, refers to Kumārila, who therefore cannot be later than the 1st quarter of the 7th century A.D.[12]

(5) Itsing states in 650 A.D.that Bhartṛhari died some 40 years back. This, however, proves to be incorrect on three grounds:

(i) Puṇyarāja was a disciple of Bhartṛhari and he tells us that Bhartṛhari learnt grammar from Vasurāta, who was a contemporary of Vasubandhu. Vasubandhu is said to have lived in the middle of the 5th century A.D. Vasurāta, therefore, belongs to the same period.

Again, Vasurāta was the disciple of Candragomin, who lived in the times

7. Dr. M. T. Sahasrabuddhe's Thesis on Pre-Śaṅkara Advaita Vedānta (Poona University) - Chapter on Date of Śaṅkara, p.514
8. Dr. Belvalkar's Vedānta-Philosophy (B.M.Lectures), p.215d
9. Vide his thesis - Per-Śaṅkara Advaita Vedānta-p.514
10. I am going to show in Chapter IX that Maṇḍaṇa-Sureśvara identity is more correct than Visvarūpa-Sureśvara identity. As such, Maṇḍaṇa also was a disciplw of Śaṅkara.
11. Dr. Belvalkar's 'Vedānta Philosophy', p.214
12. Dr. Sahasrabudhe's Thesis, p.515/6

of Abhimanyu, the first King of Kāshmir i.e. sometime towards the end of the fourth and the beginning of the 5th century A.D. Vasurāta, therefore, gets assigned to the middle of the 5th century A.D.

If Vasurāta belongs to the middle of the 5th century A.D., Bhartṛhari, his disciple can be said to have lived towards the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century A.D. That approximately was the date of Gauḍapāda also. Kumārila, then, who refers to Bhartṛhari, comes somewhere in the 6th cent. A.D. or at the beginning of the 7th, at the latest. Śaṅkara then has to be placed much earlier than 788 A.D.

It-sing says that Bhartṛhari was a Buddhist grammarian but we know that he was not a Buddhist nor was he a mere grammarian. He was a great Vedāntin also and is said to have written a commentary on the Vedānta-Sūtras. Itsing's mention, therefrore, seems to be a case of mistaken identity.[86]

Citsukha states that Bhartṛhari or Bhartṛprapanca as he was called, who wrote a commentary on the Vedānta-Sūtras, was a son of Govindamuni, Śaṅkara's Guru. As such, he was a contemporary of Śaṅkara, who used to look upon him with great reverence and who wrote the Atmānātma-Viveka Prakaraṇa, being a gist of the discussion between Bhartṛhari and himself.

(6) Kumārila, we have seen, attacks Akalaṅka and also Samantabhadra. Prof. Pathak has assigned both these Jain writers roughly to the beginning and the middle of the 8th century A.D. respectively. Dr. Sahasrabuddhe, however, says that the date of Akalaṅka is not quite certain and Samantabhadra's date, according to tradition, is 2nd century A.D. Yet, he says, there is noting improbable or impossible in Kumārila criticising him in the 8th century A.D. and Akalaṅka commenting upon him a little earlier,[87] and this seems to receive support from the following sources:

(1) Akalaṅka's date is settled mainly by his connection with the King, Sāhastuṅga Dantidurga. On this point, howerver, there are more views than one.

(a) Prof. Mirāśī says that in the Ellora plates of Dantidurga, reference is to Kalacuri Era and the date of the plates has to be placed at 250-51 A.D.

86. All this discussion is taken from Dr. Sahasrabuddhe's thesis-pp.517/8/9

87. Vide his thesis, p.516&528

Śrī G. S. Gai, however, holds on several grounds that the reference is to the Śaka era only and that the date in question is 721 A.D.- the date of Dantidurga.[88]

(b) Prof. Pathak says that Akalaṅka's dispute may have been a fact but not so his visit to the court of Sāhastuṅga Dantidurga, because the inscription referring to his addressing that King belongs to 1128 A.D. No contemporary record identifies Sāhastunga and Dantidurga. He, therefore, concludes that Akalaṅka should be placed in the last quarter of the 7th century A.D. at the latest.[89]

It will be seen that this conclusion contradicys the Professor's earlier stand that Akalaṅka belongs to the beginning of the 8th century A.D.

(c) Prof. Jyoti Prasad Jain says that Akalaṅka's two commentators Anantavīrya and Vidyānandi were contemporaries and have to be assigned to the 8th century A.D. Akalaṅka cannot be placed later than 675 A.D., his period being 600 A.D. to 675 A.D. Kumārila, then, comes sometime during this period.[90] Śaṅkara, comes a littel later but not so late as 788 A.D.

(d) Dr. S. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstri says that the Mallisena Praśasti refers to Patrakesarin, ... Akalaṅka, Puṣpasena and then to Vimalacandra. Out of these, Akalaṅka and Puṣpasena were contemporaries of Śrī Vikrama, perhaps the Gāṅga King, whose date is between 608 A.D. to 679 A.D. Akalaṅka ia referred to in a stanza which gives his date as 700 Vikrama Śaka.[91]

Dr. Śāstri favours taking the reference in the first half to mean Saṁvat 700 rather than Śaka 700, thus giving 642 A.D. as the date of Akalaṅka, which he says, agrees with the date of the Gaṅga King.[92]

(e) Prof. Pathak's arguments to show that Samantabhadra must be about the beginning of the 8th century A.D.[93], have been refuted by Pandit J. Mukhtiar,[94] who shows that Samantabhadra does not anywhere

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88. Vide 16th Oriental Confeence Proceedings, p. 205.
89. B.O.R.I. Annals - Vol. XIII - pp. 161 to 170.
90. Vide Jain Antiquary - Vol. XX, No. 2, pp. 1 to 9.
91. The stanza is : विक्रमार्कशकाब्दीये शतसप्तसमा जुषि ।
कालेऽकलङ्कयतिनो बौद्धैर्वादो महानभूत् ॥
92. Vide his article on Vidyananda in Jain Antiquary - Vol. XX, No. 2.
93. Vide B.O.R.I. Annals - Vol. XI, pp.149 to 164
94. Vide B.O.R.I. Annals - Vol. XV.

refer to Dharmakīrti or Bhartṛhari. The similarity of words and expressions is due to the sameness of the topics discussed. He also shows that long before Dharmakīrti, words like अकल्पक, निर्विकल्पक &c. were used by Nāgārajuna, Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga &c.

(f) Samantabhadra, again, is said to have visited Pāṭalīputra, which is generally identified as modern Pātṇa and which is said to have been destroyed by a reiver-innundation about the middle of the 8th century A.D.[95] But we are told that there are records to show that there was another city of that name in the southern Tamil land and Samantabhadra, being a southerner, more probably visited that Southern Pātalīputra rather than the one in the north. Samantabhadra was suffering from a deadly disease and for this reason also, it is possible that he visited the Southern Pātalīputra, rather than the one in the North.[96]

The southern Pātalīputra is said to have been in ruins at the beginning of the Christian Era.[97] This, therefore, indicates the time of Samantabhadra somewhere in the first century A.D. or even earlier.

Dr. Sahasrabuddhe refers to many statements in Śaṅkara's commentaries,[98] which, in his opinion, show that the Buddhists had become powerful and the Varṇāśrama order in society was disturbed. This state of confusion and Buddhistic influence prevailed in the country immediately after the demise of Harṣa, which coincides with the middle of the 7th century A.D. His conclusion, therefore, is that Śaṅkara has to be assigned to the end of the 7th century A.D.

Prof. B. Upadhyāya adduces[99] a few more arguments in favour of this conclusion, thus:

(1) Bhavabhûti, who is said to have been a disciple of Kumārila,[100] was connected with King Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja, who reigned from 725 A.D. to 752 A.D., as his Court Pandit. Bhavabhûti, therefore, belongs to the same period. Kumārila, as Bhavabhûti's preceptor, has to be assigned to the end of the 7th century A.D. and so also Śaṅkara, his junior contemporary.

95. Vide K. T. Telang's Article 'Date of Śaṅkara' in Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII.

96. Vide the article आचार्यसमन्तभद्र and पाटलिपुत्र Jain Ant. Vol. XIV, No. 1.

97. Vide Śrī Mahajan's paper on this subjecy - Proceedings of All India Oriental Conference - 1951, p. 177.

98. Vide ब्र.सू.भा. 1:3:33, 2:2:26, 32; छा.उप.भा 223:1.

99. Vide his book श्रीशङ्कराचार्य pp. 28 to 40.

100. In Chapter IX of this thesis, I have tried to show that this theory is not tenable.

(2) Śṛṅgeri believes in Vikrama-Saṁvat 14 and 46 as the years of Śaṅkara's birth and passing away respectively. Vikrama-Samvat was formerly known as Mālavā Samvat and was not introduced in the South till about the Cālukya King Vikramāditya, who is said to have ascended the throne in about 670 A.D. Vikrama-Samvat 14 and 46 would then come to 684 A.D. and 716 A.D. respectively.

(3) Relation between Bhartṛhari and Kumārila points to a similar conclusion.

Prof. Upadhyāya concludes that Śaṅkara's date has to be shifted back by about 100 years and has to be placed towards the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century A.D.

The late Śrī Bhāuśāstri Vaze has argued on the same lines as those of Dr. Sahasrabuddhe. He has tried to show[101] that Buddhism, which was laid low in the Gupta period, raised its head again in the reign of Harṣavardhana. Dharmakīrti was a great champion of the faith. Gradually, however, it was broken once more, first by the Naiyāyikas, then almost laid prostrate by the Mīmāṁsakas and finally wiped out by Śaṅkara. Buddhism was replaced by the Karma-marga of the Mīmaṁsakas like Kumārila and Maṇḍaṇa, who had introduced the Jñāna-Karma-samuccaya-theory in the field of Philosophy and which it was Śaṅkara's principal task to refute and replace by the philosophy of pure knowledge of the self. With the death of Harṣa, Buddhism had been deprived of royal support also. All this situation prevailed towards the middle of the 7th century A.D. Śaṅkara's date, therefore, has to be fixed at about the same period.

Śri Vaze identifies the King Manukulāditya referred to by Sarvajñātman in his Sankśepa-Śārīraka, with Ādityavarman, the second son of Pulakeśin II, who ascended the throne as Vikramāditya in 655 A.D. During the reign of this King, Sarvajña wrote his S.Ś. This King ruled upto 690 A.D. Śaṅkara's date ranges from 625 A.D. (Dharmakīrti) to 690 A.D. - approximately 636 A.D. to 668 A.D.

The late Śrī K. T. Telang takes this date still earlier. [102] His arguments are:

(1) Śaṅkara's reference to Pātalīputra[103] seems to show that it was then in a flourishing condition. Since, however, that city was ruined by river-floods in the 8th century A.D., Śaṅkara must have come much earlier.

(2) Śaṅkara refers to a King Pūrṇavarman[104] also. There are two King of that name, Viz. (1) one mentioned in the Javanese Inscription and (2) King of Benares - Western Magadha. Śaṅkara did most of his writing in the north and it seems more probable that the second of the two Kings is meant by him. He seems to have been his contemporary. Pūrṇavarman's date can be determined in two ways.

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101. Vide his article is Sahyādri-Dec.'46

102. Vide Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII - 'Date of Śaṅkara'.

103. Vide his comm. on वे.सू. II:1:17.

104 Vide his commentary on वे.सू. II;1:17.

(i) Hienn Tsang visited Magadha in 637-38 A.D. but did not visit him, propbably because he was dead. He, therefore, came earlier and so did Śaṅkara, his contemporary.

(ii) Pūrṇavarman reinvigorated the Bodhi-tree, which Śaśāṅka had tried to destroy. Śaśāṅka killed Rājyavardhana, who is placed between 580 A.D. and 610 A.D. Pūrṇavarman and also Śaṅkara come after this period, sometime between 600 A.D. and 638 A.D.

(3) According to a Tamil chronicle, Kongu-desarājakal, Śaṅkara is stated to have converted a King Tiruvikramadeva to Śaivism. Śaṅkara, therefore, is placed at the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century A.D.

(4) Mādhava, in his Śaṅkśepa-Śaṅkara-Jaya refers to Bāṇa, Mayūra and Daṇḍin as Śaṅkara's contemporaries.[105] Hence, also, he has to be assigned to end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century A.D.

(5) Argument relating to the translation into Chinese in 570 A.D. of Gauḍapāda's commentary on Sāṁkhya-Kārikas.

Mr. Telang's conclusion is that Śaṅkara cannot be placed later than 590 or 595 A.D.

Remarks

In this group of the moderners, then, we get two or three views, viz. (1) 788-820 A.D. (2) end of the 7th and beginning of the 8th century A.D. (3) end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century A.D. The first is based on certain stanzas and on certain arguments said to be historidal or circumstantial arguments only. The point is : which set of arguments deserves attention and respect? The stanzas pointedly mention on precise and uniform date. If that is the correct one, all the historical arguments of the scond and the third views must be rejected as mere conjecture. If, on the contrary, we like to consider the historical arguments, we must at once reject the stanzas as valueless for historical calculation. I have already shown that except in two or three cases, all the stanzas are without any source and what is more, many stanzas are not mere imitations but verbatim repetitions of one set of stanzas, say of pathak's manuscript or of Śṛṅgeri stotra. The Śṛṅgeri mutt tradition, moreover, is contradictory since it gives as many as three different dates, viz. 2722 Yudhi. Śaka - 380 B.C., 1st century B.C. and 788-820 A.D. The letter produced from the same mutt gives particulars of Śaṅkara's birth and parentage, which

105. I have shown earlier that Mādhava's work is altogether unreliable for historical purposes. He also makes Nīlakantha, Abhinavagupta and Śrī Harṣa of Khaṇḍaṇa Khaṇḍa Khadta contemporaries of Śaṅkara.

106. This point has been discussed thoroughly in the next chapter.

are altogether subversive of known facts regarding the same.[106] I have shown how the Guruparamparā of Śṛṅgeri is very differently given by different persons and how the different versions are mutually contradictory. In themselves, therefore, these stanzas are not sufficient proof of any theory based on them.

Regarding the historical arguments, from what I have stated already it will be quite clear that the arguments of different scholars cancel each other. All the so-called history, immediately before and after the Christian Era seems to be in a most uncertain and unsatisfactory condition. It is based on assumptions and iddentifications which are beginning to be seriously challenged and it is very unsafe to arrive at conclusions regarding the date of any person by resorting to them. To illustrate, I may point to Kālidāsa and Bhartṛhari. A large section of scholars holds that Kālidāsa belonged to the 1st century B.C. If Dinnāga is to have been his contemporary, he also will have to be assigned to the same period. But, Śaṅkara has been assigned to the 6th century A.D. by assuming the 5th century A.D. as the peroid of both these earlier writers. Bhartṛhari's very identity has been questioned by Dr. Sahasrabuddhe and the strongest authority on matters of history, viz. Hienn Tsang, has been rendered doubtful. Similar confusion prevails in the cases of persons like Patanjali, Gauḍapāda and many others. The main difficulty is that no definite information regarding these persons is available and in the earlier decade of oriental research, European scholars tried to prove as late dates for Indian history as possible, which the succeeding generations of scholars till today have generally been accepting as axiomatic conclusions. Even today, very meagre information is available on many important topics and whatever is available is highly doubtful. Thus, if any plates are found to mention any date, scholars differ to the extent of centuries. The Ellora-plates are an instance in point. The traditional information is discredited by the critical minded scholars of the present day, as being unreliable.[107] My submission is that to base arguments on historical information of this type and to arrive at conclusions based on these arguments is an unsafe process and the unsatisfactory state of affairs is amply borne out by the discussion of the historical arguments, set forth in the preceding pages. It is, indeed, surprising and interesting to find that the same process of historical reasoning has yielded three results, each succeeding removed from the previous on by a century.

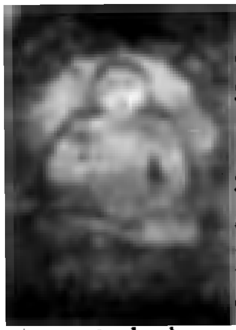
(4) 509 B.C. to 477 B.C.

As against the latest date, discussed so far, we have to consider the theory of the most ancients, the last to have to be considered but most discredited. I shall first set forth the evidence on the point and then discuss its merits or otherwise.

(1) While commenting on stanza 17 of Gururatnamālikā, Suṣamā quotes as from Prācina Śaṅkara Vijaya, the following stanza, which gives the particulars of Śaṅkara's birth-date.

107. Vide Prof. B. Upādhyāya's श्रीशङ्कराचार्य - p.31

तिष्ये प्रयात्यनलशेवधिवाणनेत्रे
यो नन्वने दिनमणावुदगध्वभाञ्जि ।
राधेऽदितेरुडुनि निर्गतमस्त्रलग्ने ।
ऽप्याहूतवान् शिवगुरुः स च शङ्करेति ॥



This gives us 2593 of Kali Ear i.e. 509 B.C. as the year of Śaṅkara's birth. The Samvatsara is Nandana and the day is Sunday.

Mr. T. S. N. Śāstri tells us that according to Citsukha, Śaṅkara was born in 2593 of Kali Era, Nandana Samvatsara, on a Sunday, 8th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, Dhanus Lagna and Punarvasu Nakśatra.[108] Unfortunately, he has not quoted the stanza or stanzas in question but the particulars are precisely the same as in Pr. Ś.V.

According to the Dwāarka Mutt tradition, Śaṅkara was born in the year 2631 of Yudhiṣṭhira Śaka[109] i.e. 508/509 B.C.

Śrī Kota Venkatacalam quotes the following passage in his own book:[110]

"On Sunday Vaiśākha Sukla 5th, in the constellation of Punarvasu and in the Lagna of Dhanus, in the (cycle) year Nandana, a son was born to Śivaguru and he was named Śaṅkara by his father, in 2593 of Kali Era. This year corresponds to 509 B.C." It seems that this last passage is only a rendering in English of the stanza from Pr.Ś.v. It cannot be treated as any independent source of information.

(2) Regarding the passing away of Śaṅkara, we get the following information.

(i) Suṣamā quotes as from Pr. Ś. V. the following stanza:

कल्यब्देश्च शरेक्षणाध्वनयनैः सत्कामकोटिप्रथे ।
पीठे न्यस्य सुरेश्वरं समवितुं सर्वशसंज्ञं मुनिम् ॥
कामाक्ष्याः सविधे स जातु निविशन्मुक्तपीठस्पृहः ।
देहं स्वं व्यपहाय देह्यसुजमं धाम प्रपेदे परम् ॥[111]

108. Vide his 'Age of Śaṅkara', Foreward, p. ii.

109. Vide Dwārkā Mutt Publication Vimarśa, p. 22.
"युधिष्ठिरशकस्थ द्विसहस्रषटशतोशरैकत्रिशत्तमेऽब्दे वैशाखशुक्लपञ्चम्यां श्रीमन्महेशशानावतार-महोत्साह आबभूवेति ।"

110. Vide p. 62 of his book 'Chronology of Nepal History Reconstructed'. He refers to p. 130, Ed.1931 of "Epochs of the History of Bhārata Varṣa" by Jagadguru Sri Kalyānananda Bhārati Māntācārya Swami Mahārāja.

111. See श्रीशङ्कराचार्य व त्यांचा सम्प्रदाय Mr. Bodas, p. 18 - Mr. Bodas says that this stanza is cited by some people. I, however, have not been able to find it quoted by any person or in any other work.

The first line gives us 2625 of Kali Ear = 477 B.C. as the year of Śaṅkara's departure from this world.

(ii) Mr. Bodas gives us in the same connection the following half-stanza as from Citsukha's Bṛhat-Śaṅkara Vijaya.

वन्ह्यध्वशास्त्रनयनाङ्कयुधिष्ठिराब्दे ।
द्वात्रिंशतं हि शरदो धरणिं विभूष्य ॥

This gives us the year 2663 of Yudhi. Śaka i.e. 476 B.C. as the year of Śaṅkara's passing away.

(3) The following stanza on the same point is quoted as from Jinavijaya.

ऋषिर्वाणस्तथा भूमिर्मर्त्याक्षौ वाममेलानात् ।
एकत्वेन लभेताङ्कस्ताम्राक्षस्तध्वि वत्सरः ॥

This gives us 2157 of Yudhi. Śaka of the Jains, i.e. 2625 Yudh. Śaka of the Hindus, i.e. 477 B.C.[112]

It may be noted that Mr. Bodas has misquoted "नन्दाः पूर्णे भूश्च नेत्रे" &c. as the stanza in question and misinterpreted it to give 2159 in place of the correct figure 2109 of Jain Yudh. Śaka i.e. 525 B.C., which refers, according to the Jinavijaya, to the fall of Kumārila from the Jain teacher's terrace and also from his esteem.

(4) The copper-plate of King Sudhanwā, said to have been issued to Śaṅkara and now in the possession of Government on behalf of Dwārkā Mutt, bears the date as Yudhiṣṭhira Śaka 2663, Āśvin Sukla 15.[113] This gives us 476 B.C. as the relevant year. The copper-plate seems to have been issued to Śaṅkara right towards the end of his career. King Sudhanwā is referred to not only by Jinavijaya but also by biographers like Mādhava and Sadānanda.

All these four quotations give a uniform year viz. 476/477 B.C. as the one of Śaṅkara's passing away. Mr. Bodas has cited all these four and after making some calculations, has dismissed them as confusing and unreliable.[114] As a matter of fact, however, he has not tried to follow the differences in the different Śaka reckonings and thereby created confusion. It is also Mr. Bodas who is unreliable. He has ascribed any stanza to any work, without any attempt at verification. I have just shown how he has referred to the stanza

112. The Jains seem to treat Yudhi. Śaka and Gatakali as the same.

113. Vide Dwārkā Mutt publication Vimarśa - pp. 29 to 31. Inspite of my efforts, I have not been able to inspect the original copper-plate and to verify the reference.

114. Vide his श्रीशङ्कराचार्य Mr. Bodas, p. 18.

115. Vide his श्रीशङ्कराचार्य p. 15. 116 Ibid., pp. 16 and 19.

"नन्दाः पूर्णे भूश्च नेत्रे" &c. He has not tried to square this quotation with the one 'ऋषिर्बाणस्तथा भूमिः &c.[115] cited by him in the same connection. If he had done so, he would have noticed the contradiction and traced his mistake. Then again, he twice ascribes the stanza "प्रासूत तिष्यशरदाम्" &c. to Sadānanda's Śaṅkara-Digvijaya-Sara[115a]? and the stanza निधिनागेभ to Puṇyaśloka-manjari, [116] when they belong to the three page manuscript of Prof. Pathak and to the Śṛṅgeri-Guruparamparā stotra. Puṇyaśloka-manjari does not at all give any year of Śaṅkara's birth. It only refers to the year of his passing away. Lastly, he refers the stanza श्रीशङ्कराचार्य &c. to Ānandagiri's Pr.Ś.V. and yet complains that the same is not found in the printed edition of Anantānandagiri's Śaṅkara-Vijaya. That is the result of his wrong identification of the two biographers.[117]

(5) Puṇyaśloka-manjarī, in its very first stanza, refers to Śaṅkara's passing away thus :

फले स्वामिन् स्वायुष्यपि शरवराब्देऽपि च कलेः ।
विलिल्ये रक्ताक्षिण्यधिवृषसितैकादशि परे ।।

According to the commentary on this stanza, this gives 2625 of Yudhi. Śaka i.e. 477 B.C. as the relevant year.

These direct references to Śaṅkara's birth and passing away in 509 B.C. and 477 B.C. respectively, receive support from the following sources :

(1) According to Citsukha, Śaṅkara was younger than Kumārila by 48 years.[118] Jinavijaya says the same thing in the following stanza:[119]

अष्टचत्वारिवर्षाणि अन्मकालादुगतानि वै ।
प्रादुर्भावः शङ्करस्य ततो जातोऽतिवादिन ।।

This Kumārila Bhatta was born in 557 B.C. according to the same source viz. Jinavijaya, which says :[120]

ऋषिर्वारस्तथा पूर्णं मर्त्याक्षौ वाममेलनात् ।
एकीकृत्य लभेताङ्कः क्रोधी स्यात्तभ वत्सरः ।।
भट्टाचार्यकुमारस्य कर्मकाण्डैकवादिनः ।
ज्ञेयः प्रादुर्भवस्तस्मिन् वर्षे यौधिष्ठिरे शके ।।

117 Ibid., p. 9.

118 Vide T.S.N.Śāstri's 'Age of Śaṅkara',

119 Vide 'Sanskrit Candrikā', Vol. V;2:p. 6.

120 The earliest trace of these stanzas from Jain Litr. is to be found in R.B.Godbole's भारतवर्षीय प्राचीन ऐतिहासिक कोश. He has given no further trace of the same. (अर्वाचीन खण्ड)

121 Vide Sanskrit Candrikā Vol. V:2:p. 6 - in the second stanza, the S.C. wrongly puts the word प्रादुर्भयः in the place of the correct word पराजयः

This gives us 2077 of Jain Yudh. Śaka i.e. 557 B.c.

The same source tells us that Kumārila met his defeat at the hands of his Guru in 525 B.C. The stanzas on this point are :[121]

नन्दाः पूर्णे धूक्ष नेत्रे मनुजानां च वामतः ।
मेलने वत्सरो धाता युधिष्ठिरशकस्य वै ।
भट्टाचार्यकुमारस्य कर्मकाण्डस्य वादिनः ।
जातः परामवः तस्मिन् विज्ञेयो वत्सरे शुभे ॥

Citsukha tells us that Kumārila's Guru was none other than the Jain philosopher, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra,[122] who belonged to the 6th century B.C. Jinavijaya therefore, is confirmed by Citsukha also.

For the Jains, the defeat of Kumārila, i.e. his fall from his Guru's esteem, was a memorable event and hence they refer to the year in which it took place as auspicious.

We are further told that fifteen years after his birth, Śaṅkara met Kumārila.

पश्चात्पञ्चदशे वर्षे शङ्करस्य गते सति ।
भट्टाचार्यकुमार्य दर्शनं कृतवान् शिवः ॥

At the time of this meeting, Kumārila was on the pyre of burning chaff and was in his sixty-third year.

गुणानां च तथास्थानां कार्तिकेयस्य मेलनात् ।
प्रमाथी माघमासश्च......... ॥[123]

This means that Śaṅkara met Kumārila in 494 B.C., in which year also, Kumārila passed away.

(2) Citsukha tells us that Śaṅkara took his mother's permission for Sannyāsa on the 11th day of the Bright half of Kārtika, of the year 2639 of Yudh. Śaka, i.e. 499 B.C.[124]

(3) Citsukha tells us that Śaṅkara's Guru Govindamuni passed away on the Banks of the Narmadā river on Thursday, 15th day of Kārtika, 2606 of Yudh. Śaka, Plavaṅga Saṁvatsara, i.e. 495 B.C. The stanzas are : [125]

शास्त्रश्रुत्यङ्गनेत्राब्दे युधिष्ठिरशकस्य वै ।
प्लवङ्गे कार्तिके मासे पूर्णिमायां गुरोर्दिने ॥
श्रीमद्गौडपदाचार्यशिष्यो योगविदां वरः ।

122. Vide the passage on pp. 135 to 138, quoted by Mr. T. S. N. Sāstri in his book 'Age of Śaṅkara', as from Br. S.V. of Citsukha, part I, Ch. III.

123. Quoted in 'Sanskrit Candrikā', Vol. V:2:p. 6

124. Vide T.S.N. Śāstri's 'Age of Śaṅkara', part I, Chapter III, p. 57; Footnote 44.

125. Vide, ibid., part I:ch. III: p. 102, Footnote 105.

गोविन्दभगवत्पादः सिद्धिं संप्राप संयमी ॥

In 495 B.C., Śaṅkara was in his 15th year. He met Kumārila next year when he was 15 years complete. All these particulars agree with each other quite well, may be with some very slight differences.

(4) Citsukha tells us that Śaṅkara established five mutts as follows :[126]

1.	Dwārka Mutt	490 B.C.
2.	Jyotir Mutt	485 B.C.
3.	Govardhana Mutt	484 B.C.
4.	Śṛṅgeri Mutt	483 B.C.
5.	Kāncī Mutt	481 B.C.

(5) The Jagadguru-Paramparā of Govardhana Mutt obtained from Adyar Library, Madras, contains the following stanza, regarding the establishment of that mutt:

भूतेन्द्रयाङगनेत्राब्दे युधिष्ठिरशकस्य वै ।
वैशाखे शुक्लिमे पक्षे दशम्यां शोभने दिने ॥

This gives us 2617 of Yudh. Śaka i.e. 484 B.C., which exactly agrees with the one given by Citsukha. The other particulars also, viz. date, month and Pakśa in both, tally equally.

(6) Puṇyaślokamanjari tells us that SureŚvara stayed in Kāncī for 70 years after Śaṅkara's death, which took place in 477 B.C. The year of his passing away therefore was 407 B.C.[127]

This is proved in another way. The same work tells us that Sarvajñātman, disciple of Sureśvara, survived him by 42 years. The year of passing away of Sarvajñātman is given as 2737 Yudh. Śaka i.e. 365 B.C.; which is 42 years after 407 B.C. The Stanza runs

कल्यब्दैः सहयाग्निलोकनयनैर्वर्षे नले मायते ।
लिल्ये कृष्णयतुर्दशीमनुमहस्याम्नायशैलान्तिके ॥ St.8 Puṇya


...mation ground of Śaṅkara's mother

All these authorities point to the same conclusion regarding the life-period of Śaṅkara. Some traditional information, though oral, goes to support this conclusion. It is as follows :

(1) At Kālady, the cremation ground of Śaṅkara's mother is shown today. On enquiry at the place, I was told that a continuous tradition pervailed for over 2000 years, that this

127. Vide Puṇyaślokamanjari, stanzas 2 and 3.
126. Ibid., pp. 2 and 3 of Foreword.

was the cremation ground of Śaṅkara's mother and that throughout this long period, Yatis, living in this forest - before it was converted into the place of pilgrimage of the present day, it was literally a dense jungle - and believing in this tradition, used to light a lamp at the place of the cremation. A photograph of the said place, as built about 50 years back by the Śṛṅgeri Mutt is attached on the left. The lamp-pole marks the place where the Yatis used to light the lamp. It was this custom and tradition that led to the discovery of Śaṅkara's birth place, in the midst of that jungle.



Original Mutt Site (Jagannath Puri)

(2) In the compound of Śrī Kāmākśi Temple, Śiva Kāncī, there is a small temple-like structure, containing the image of Śaṅkarācārya. On enquiry, I was told that this image was believed to be as old as the Kāmākśi Temple itself and that tradition dated back the period by more than 2000 years. This image and the temple are supposed to represent the burial place (Samādhi) of Śaṅkara.

(3) At Jagannātha Puri, the Govardhana Mutt is now situated about a mile away from the temple of Jagannātha. When I visited the mutt, the pujārī showed me two deities, one a Śiva-lingam and the other an image of Śrī Gopāla-Kriṣṇa. I was told by the pujārī and by the disciple Swāmi Mahārāja whom I contacted later, that these two images were brought by Śaṅkara himself to Puri, when he established his mutt at the place. The present location, however, of the mutt or the deities is not the orgignal one. According to the Swamiji, the original mutt was just inside the entrance to the Jagannātha temple. Just as we step into the temple premises, we find a mutt-like building, which, at present is kept permanently closed. That, the Swamiji said, was the site of the original mutt of Śaṅkara, who also built the Jagannātha temple. The mutt managed the temple and itself together. In course of time, the mutt was required to be expanded and hence it was shifted to the present place. This shifting, he said, took place about 1150 years back. The establishment and consecration of the two images also in the present place took place at the same time. All this, according to the Swamiji, was long after the time of Śaṅkara.

According to Nepāl-rāja Vamśāvali, Śaṅkara visited Nepal during or towards the end of the reign of King Vṛṣadeva. His son was named Śaṅkaradeva to commemorate the visit. According to the Vaṁśāvali, Śaṅkara went to Nepal and destroyed the Buddhist faith in 2614 of Kaḷi Era i.e. 488-487 B.C. This visit is not described by any biography except Guruvaṁśakāya.

Śrī Kota Venkatācalam quotes from "A Short History of Kāśmir" by P. Gwashalal, the following :

"Gopāditya (the Kāśmir King) built the temple of Śaṅkara called Śaṅkarācārya or Thakti Sulaima (Kāśmir) in 367-366 B.C." If this is true, Śaṅkara evidently could have preceded him by over 100 years. I have shown in Chapter IX that possibly, Maṇḍaṇa belonged to Kāśmir and Śaṅkara went there to engage him in argument. If Śaṅkara met Kumārila in 494 B.C. and immediately left for Maṇḍaṇa's place, his visit can be placed sometime in the year 493 B.C. or 492 B.C.

The Vaiśeṣīka system is now generally regarded as older than the Gautama's Nyāya system. Śaṅkara, throughout his extensive commentaries, refers to Vaiśeṣikas and their doctrines only (At 2:2: ब्रम्हण्ड he mentions only 6 Padarthas of Vaiśeṣikas and refutes them) and nowhere to Gautama and his system. This seems to show that he came before the Nyāya-system was formulated i.e. before the 4th century A.D.

All these pieces of evidence point to one conclusion viz. that Śaṅkara cannot be placed so late as in the 6th, 7th or 8th century A.D. He lived some five or six centuries before the Christian Era. How, then, can we account for the later tradition of the 8th century A.D.? The answer can be given as follows :

It is said that the Kāncī-pītha produced many brilliant Ācāryas. The 36th or the 38th Ācārya, known as Abhinava-Śaṅkara or Nava-Śaṅkara, proved the most brilliant. It is said that he excelled even Śaṅkara. In course of time, the life-stories of these two ācāryas got mixed up and a single but mixed tradition grew up. Among other things, which are discussed at their relevant places, the particulars including the date of the second Śaṅkara were tacked on to first Śaṅkara. After quoting the stanza from Pr.S.V. relating to the birth of Śaṅkara, Suṣamā clearly says that 'some poets, ignorant of the happenings in the world (अविदितभुवनवृत्तान्ता) have confused the accounts of the two Śaṅkaras, particularly regarding birth, Digvijaya, passing away, &c.; because they could not properly distinguish between the two ācāryas.[128] while describing the birth of Abhinava Śaṅkara, Suṣamā has quoted as many as 27 stanza from the second chapter of Śaṅkarendra Vilāsa by Vākpati Bhatta, a work said to be the biography of Abhinava-Śaṅkara by this Kāśmīr-pandit.[130]. The last of the 27th stanzas gives the particulars of A. Śaṅkara's birth as 3889 of Kali Era, Vaiśākha Śukla 10th i.e. 788 A.D. The stanza runs :

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128. Read
इत्यादिना मूलकारेणैव प्रपश्चयिष्यमाणेभ्यो नवशाङ्करेन्द्रविभोऽस्य भेवाग्रहेण जन्मादिदिग्जयप्रथाणप्रमुखेषु स्थलेषु तयोईयोरपि वृत्तजातमेकतः संकुलीकृत्य निवबन्धुरस्य किमपि किमप्य र्वाचीना अविदितभुवनवृत्तान्ताः कतिपये कवय इत्यम्युपगन्तव्यम् ।'' Suṣamā on st. 17 of गुरुरत्नमालिका the description of the Arvācīnas as अविदितभुवनवृत्तान्ताः is significant indeed. It shows the genuineness of the statement made.

129. Vide History of Classical Sanskrit Literature -- M.Krisṇmācāri - p.

130. Vide History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, M. Kṛṣṇamācāri, p.323

हायनेऽथ विभवे वृषमासे । शुक्लपक्षवशमीदिनमध्ये ।
शेवधिद्विपदिशानलवर्षे । तिष्य एनमुदसोष्ट विशिष्टा ॥

It will be seen how closely this agrees with the date assigned to Śaṅkara by the stanzas already quoted.

The evidence so far produced is sufficient to show that Śaṅkara was born in 509 B.C. and passed away in 477 B.C. or more generally that he belonged to the 6th/5th century B.C. only if it could be proved to be reliable and true. There are, however, serious objections to its acceptance and they are as follows :

Firstly, the original works, from which the stanzas have been quoted are not available today for inspection and hence their genuineness cannot be properly ascertained. We cannot also decide whether the quoted stanzas did really belong to the works to which they have been ascribed, even if the existence of these works is taken for granted.

It has to be admitted that this objection cannot be answered fully. I have, however, shown sufficiently clearly that there is evidence to believe that some of the works from which the stanzas are mainly quoted did exist till comparatively recently and that at least a prima facie case can be put up on the strength of the same. Nothing more is intended to be claimed by adducing the foregoing evidence in support of this last theory.

On the other hand, we can put it to those who have accepted so many quotations like the one from Prof. Pathak's three-page manuscript to say whether they have ever cared to verify the originals from which these stanzas were quoted. This three-page manuscript is still untraced and so far as I am aware, no one has, so far, called for the original. Prof. Pathak does not say anything about the main work to which it belonged nor anything else about it, beyond that it belonged to some Govinda Bhatta Yerlekar, Belgaum. Neither he nor any other scholar seems worried about these questions and yet the stanzas have been accepted by scholars without any suspicion. The very stanzas given by him were quoted by Viṣṇuśarman in the vernacular fortnightly Ācārya and the stanzas appeared as a part of the Śṛṅgeri Guruparamparā. This paramparā version again conflicts with the one as given by Mr. Bālasubramania Iyer, a Staunch adherent of that mutt and with the Vānī-Vilāsa version. The date of Śaṅkara given in the stanzas also conflicts with the traditional date for Śaṅkara, viz 1st century B.C. held by the said mutt. Inspite of all this, not even a faint murmur has been raised by any scholar as to the authenticity of Prof. Pathak's manuscript and the stanzas.

Secondly, stanzas from Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Bālakṛṣṇa Brahmānanda are simply repeated by one scholar after the other. Even a critical research student like Prof. B.

131 Vide his श्रीशङ्कराचार्य p. 51 - Foot Note 1 - This quotation is not in connection with Śaṅkara's date. I have not come across any of the three works in any of the 200 and odd printed catalogues I have gone through so far.

132 Vide 'Ācārya' date 3-5-1916, pp. 27 and 28.

133 Vide 'Ācārya' dated 2-8-1914, p. 21.

Upādhyāya, who has quoted from both and also from another work called Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Kālidāsa[131] had to admit to me that he had not only not seen the originals but also did not remember where he had picked up the same. The late Mr. K. K. Lele is the only person to say something about the original works of Nīlakantha and Bālakṛṣṇa Brahmānanda.[132] He also seems to have merely repeated what the late Shri V. V. Āthalye had had stated some two years ago and Shri Athalye has relied on an article on the subject by the late Shri T. C. Kale, who was said to have procured these two works in the original.[133]

There are still some more stanzas, quoted by Śrī Āthalye and Śrī Lele, who themselves say that no trace of them is to be found elsewhere. Yet, these are given as corroborating the thesis of Dr. Pathak.

It was all these stanzas that set afloat for the first time the theory that Śaṅkara flourished in the 8th and the 9th centuries after Christ and it was afterwards that the historical arguments were found to support it.

It is possible to argue that this theory has become acceptable to scholars not merely by virtue of the stanzas quoted but also because historical and circumstantial evidence was found to support it. The contradiction in the historical arguments themselves has already been pointed out, as also the contradiction between the latter two sets of arguments with the precise data furnished by the stanzas. Lastly, the unsatisfactory state in which the present knowledge of history continues to be, is an added reason why this alternative justification of the stanzas came to be taken exception to.

The only point in all this discussion is that if in such cases, quotations and stanzas can be accepted to settle important dates in history, without the necessity to verify the originals - which in many cases are not even mentioned or without verifying that such originals do or did really exist - there is no reason why that test should be insisted upon where a date relates to an old period and why the stanzas or quotations should at once be declared to be concocted and faked without allowing them to put up even a prima facies case.

The second objection is that this theory upsets many other things in history, which are well settled and no explanation has been or can be given to account for the upsetting.

This objection also has to be initially conceded but the foregoing remarks regarding our knowledge of history answer it partly. Moreover, early European scholars, in their attempt to reduce the antiquity of Indian history, which they did not believe, reduced the number of Kings, curtailed periods of reign and even discredited certain reckonings of time or Era, mentioned in old native works. The best of these is seen in the case of Nepal Vaṁśāvali. This Vaṁśāvali refers to Kings and events in terms of Kali Era and three inscriptions refer to Harśa Samvat. Dr. Buhler, however, has discredited both these eras and built up his own theories, by which the Nepal history has suffered a loss of about eight centuries. As this Vaṁśāvali is

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134. Vide Ind. Ant. Vol. II - p. 163 ff.
135. Vide Alberuni's 'India', Vol. II, Ch. 49, pp. 4,5 and 7.

pertinent to the present question of Śaṅkara's date, I shall point out two cases where Dr. Buhler has rejected the old reckoning in favour of his own.

Śivadeva-Varman is the 27th King of the 5th Sūryavaṁśī dynasty of Nepal. Three inscriptions of this King have been discovered.[134] Inscription No. 12 refers to the coronation of this King in 119 of Śrī Harṣa Samvat.

Alberuni in his book 'India' has converted every era into the Yazdagard era of Persians, with reference to the year 400 Yazdagard = 1031 A.D. (Alberuni's own time). Alberuni states that this year is equivalent to the following years of the different eras in India.[135]

1031 A.D.	=	Śrī Harṣa Era - 1488
	=	Vikrama Era - 1088
	=	Śālivāhana Era - 953
	=	Kali Era - 4132

From this, it is quite clear that

Śrī Harṣa Era	=	457 B.C.
Vikrama Era	=	57 B.C.
Śālivāhana Era	=	78 A.D.
Kali Era	=	3101 B.C.

Regarding the Harṣa Saṁvat or Harṣa Era, Alberuni further adds that it was used in Mathura and Kanouj and that between Harṣa Era and Vikrama Era, there was a difference of 400 years, "as I have been told by some inhabitants of that region."

These references clearly establish the different eras with their beginning, at least in Alberuni's time. Out of these, it is with reference to the first era that the inscription (No. 12) mentions 119 as the year of Śivadeva-Varman's coronation. Calculating 119 from from 457 B.C., we get 338 B.C. as the relevant year, which is precisely the year mentioned for this event in the Vaṁśāvali also. Śaṅkara is said to have visited Nepal in the reign of Vṛṣadeva-Varman, who was the 18th King of the same Suryavamsi dynasty and who, according to the Vaṁśāvali, was removed from Śivadevavarman by 150 years. This gives us 488 B.C. as the year of Śaṅkara's visit, which again is the one mentioned in the Vaṁśāvali for the same.

Dr. Buhler, however, thinks otherwise. Inspite of the information regarding Harṣa-Saṁvat given by Alberuni, he says that Alberuni "adds no information about its founder and it is certain that this personage can be no other but the hero of Bāṇabhatta's Harṣa Carita, whom his protege Hieun Tsang calls Harṣavardhana Śilāditya." He then goes on to say that Śrī Harṣa Śilāditya's era began in 606 A.D. and Harṣa Saṁvat 119, therefore, works out to 725 A.D. This, according to Dr. Buhler, is the year of Śivadeva Varman's cordnation.

History, however, records no era started by Śrī Harṣa Śilāditya nor any era started by

134. Vide Ind. Ant. Vol. II - p. 163 ff.
135. Vide Alberuni's 'India', Vol. II, Ch. 49, pp. 4,5 and 7.

anyone in 606 A.D. Tradition does not know it and neither Bāṇabhatta nor Hieun Tsang refers to it. Yet, Dr. Buhler credits Harṣavardhana with such an era. But this leads him in an absurdity, as follows :

After Śivadeva-Varman, four Kings came to the same throne, before it passed into the hands of the 6th Thakuri Dynasty, of which Aṁśuvar was the first King. According to the Vaṁśāvali, this King was crowned in Kali year 3001 i.e. 100 B.C. King Vikramāditya visited Nepal in Kali 3044 i.e. 57 B.C. and started his era there.

According to Dr. Buhler, all this is unbelievable. He quotes, in a footnote, a passage from Hienn Tsang's Travel Memoirs, as translated for him by Dr. Beal.

"Lately, there was a King called An-shu-fa-mo who was distinguished for his learning and ingenuity. He himself has composed a work on sounds (Śabda-Vidyā). He esteemed learning and respected virtue and his reputation was spread everywhere."

Dr. Buhler has no doubt that this King is the same as King Aṁśuvarman of the Vaṁśāvali, which, he says, speaks of one such king only. He then says that "as the date of Hienn Tsang's travel in India is fixed beyond doubt and as his visit of Northern India most probably falls in the year 637 A.D., it follows that Aṁśuvarman must have reigned in the first half of the 7th century of our era....[136]

Thus, Śivadeva-Varman, 27th king of the 5th Sūryavaṁśī dynasty was coronated in 725 A.D. and Aṁśu-Varman, who succeeded the 5th king from Śivadeva-Varman was crowned in the first half of the 7th century A.D. I leave it to scholars to judge of this result and the method employed to arrive at it.

While enumerating, at the beginning of this chapter, the views of various scholars regarding the date of Śaṅkara, I have referred to those of Dr. Fleet and Śrī Indraji, according to whom, king Vṛṣadeva Varman, during whose reign Śaṅkara is said to have gone to Nepal, reigned in 635-637 A.D. and 260 A.D. respectively.

Europeans themselves caution us against placing implicit reliance on Chinese pilgrim's memoirs and advise using our "sagacity both to supply their omissions and correct their mistakes."[137] Yet, we have been following them in total disregard of native records and traditions to the contrary. I only feel like concluding this discussion with the following passage from Prof. Max Muller : 2[138]

"Men, who possessed the true faculty of an historian, like Niebuhr, have abstained from passing sentence on the history of a nation, whose literature had only just been discovered and had not yet passed through the ordeal of philological criticism...... Other historians, however, thought they could do what Niebuhr had left undone.... No nation has, in this respect, been more unjustly treated than the Indian. Not only have general conclusions been drawn from the most scanty materials but the most questionable and suprious authorities have been employed without the least historical investigation."

136. Vide Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII, p. 420.

Chapter VI

THE BACKGROUND, BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS

A good deal will depend upon a determination of Śaṅkara's date, which will help us to assess, with some measure of certainty, the background od his life and life-work. Unfortunately, however, all the biographical works, available today, seem to have been written a very very long time indeed after the play of Śaṅkara's life was enacted on the stage of this earth. The biographers had lost all useful contact with his times and what little information they furnished, seems to relate more to their own immediate past than to that of Śaṅkara. It, therefore, becomes necessary to gather the relevant information from elsewhere.

India has principally been a religious country. Religion has dominated practically the whole of its life. It set standards in social and political matters. Religious concepts underwent changes and these brought about changes in the social body and influenced the body politic. This situation prevailed before Śaṅkara also.

Thus, the simple prayer-worship of Ṛgveda was replaced by the cumbrous ritualism of the Brahmanas. An excess of this ritualism brought in the Āraṇyakas, only to culminate in the philosophy of the Upaniṣads. All this was an esaentially Vedic Religion, with its acceptance of the system of four Varṇas and the authority of the Vedas. Just as, however, the Upaniṣads represented one reaction to the ritualism, Buddhism was another. Buddha ruled out caste system and the ritual but replaced them by a strict adherence to a code of morals and love for all the beings.

The next important stage came when an attempt was made by Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa to revive the Vedic Religion. From the fact of mutual references, they seem to have been contemporaries and each concentrated on one particular branch of the Vedic Religion, Jaimini devoting himself to the Karma-Kāṇḍa and Bādaryāyaṇa to a coordination of Upanissdic philosophy. This is only a rough distinction since there is evidence to infer that Jaimini also had written Vedānta-Sūtras[1] like those of Bādarāyaṇa. Both of them assimilated what was good in Buddhism but as Dr. Radhakṛṣṇan remarks, "Brahmanism killed Buddhism by a fraternal embrace."[2]

1 Vide Sureśvara's Naiśkarmya Siddhi, Chapter I:91

2 Vide his 'Śaṅkara and Ramanuja', p.36

It course of time, Upavarṣa wrote a Vṛtti each on both these systems and developed the theory of Jñāna-Karma Samuccaya, which Kumārila also accepted and incorporated into his works. Perhaps, Maṇḍaṇa also held the same view. At any rate, this theory seems to have been holding the ground at the time of Śaṅkara's birth. Śaṅkara is at great pain to refute this stand and he may be said to have written his commentary on the Bhg., with the object of refuting this theory and establishing knowledge of the self as the only means of salvation. In his commentaries on Upaniṣads also,[3] he criticises this theory as and when occasion permits.

Alongside of this, there had developed the systems of Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Vaiśeṣikas, Pasupatas, Bhagavatas and even the Cārvakas. We find from Śaṅkara's commentaries, particularly his commentary on the Vedānta-Ṣūtras, that Buddhism had developed four new and quite formidable schools of philosophy. The Jains also were a force in the philosophical field, to be reckoned with. In fact, Citsukha would have us believe that Kumārila's main opponents were Jains and not Buddhists, who are however, refuted at great length in his own works. With the development of Pāsupatas and Bhagavatas, perhaps, some practices of branding the body with some marks, had also come into beging. It, however, does not seem probable that there is any evidence in the works of Kumārila, Sureśvara or Śaṅkara to show the existence of a babble of jarring voices, as it has been described by biographers like Anantānandagiri, Brahmānanda Sarasvati and Vallīsahāya. The Śāktas, Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas with their divisions and sub divisions seemto be a growth of later times given the difference between the saktas and Vaiṣnavas does not appear to have become so marked then. As far as his commentaries reveal, Śaṅkara refers to Viṣṇu, image or worship of Viṣṇu more than to Śiva or Śiva-worship. The field of discordant notes, therefore, appears to have been greatly limited.

Out of these creeds, Pataṅjali, Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa tried to stem Buddhism. Gauḍapāda, in particular, on the one hand and Kumārila and Maṇḍaṇa on the other, humbled the Buddhists as also the Jains, who were a fresh force in the field. At this stage, I would like to differ from Dr. Sahasrabuddhe who, on the basis of a statement[4] in Śaṅkara's commentary on ब्र.सू. II:2:26 deduces that Buddhists were a very powerful force in Śaṅkara's time. The last words in the statement, viz. the whole world is confounded or trouble by the Vaināśikas, have been construed to mean that the Buddhists were very powerful in these days. My submission is like this:

The Vaināśikas represented only one of the branches of Buddhistic philosophy. It is not proper to equate one part with the whole. If, again, we go through the rest of Śaṅkara's commentary on that particular Sūtra, we find that right from the beginning, Śaṅkara is

3. Vide particularly his commentaries on Īśa, Muṇḍaka and Taittirīya.
4. Read:
अपि च चतुर्भिश्चित्तचैता उत्पद्यन्ते परमाणुभ्यश्च भूतभौतिकलक्षणः समुदायः उत्पद्यते इत्यभ्युपगम्य पुनरभावाद्भावोत्पत्तिं कल्पयद्भिरभ्युपगमपनुव्हानैः वैनाशिकैः सर्वो लोक आकुलीक्रियते ॥ ब्र.सू. II : 2 : 26

trying to point out contradictions between what the Vaināśikas believe in theory and what they accept as experience in actual life. In this last sentence, Śaṅkara rounds off his refutation with the remark that by making mutually contradictory statements, they violate all recognised rules of logic and reasoning. "Sarvo Lokah Akulikriyate" is only an idiomatic way of saying that the reasoning is opposed to all accepted standards thereof.[5] It has nothing to do with the influence of Vaināśikas or Buddhists on the society of the day. Though such a meaning appears to accrue from the mere words, it is against the context. The trend also of the sentence quoted does not support such an interpretation. While dealing with the story of Kumārila, I have tried to show in some detail that the really powerful sect in the field was that of the Jains and not of the Buddhists. Only because Śaṅkara refutes Baudhas at great length, we cannot say it is sufficient to show their immediate influence in his time. Śaṅkara has refuted the Sāṁkhya theory also to an equal - perhaps greater - extebt. The later biographers confounded the Buddhists and Jains and reduced them practically to one and the same system.

Gauḍapāda and his predecessors, as already stated, had counteracted the influence of the Buddhists by using their own theories and methods against themselves, while the Mīmāṁsakas, while establishing the authority of the Vedas and the Vedic religion, gave excessive importance to Karma-mārga and subordinated the teaching of the Upaniṣads to the performance of Karman by interpreting Jaimini[6] too narrowly and rigidly. Attainment of heaven as the highest aim and the consequent performance of Karmas became the form of practical religion. Bādarāyana, Śukamuni and Gauḍapāda tried to co-ordinate the Upaniṣadic passages into a systematic philosophy of thought and action and purposely added the teaching of Lord Kṛṣṇa, in the form of the Bhg., but the Mimāṁsakas held the ground. Systems like the Sāṁkhya and Vaiseśika tried to utilise and interpret Upaniṣadic passages in their own way. The Pāśupatas and Bhagavatas also had appeared in the field, with their own theories and practices.

In the social field also, in this state of flux, created by constant changes in the theoretical and practical aspects of religion, the Varṇāśrama-arrangement, which prevailed from of old, had lost its stability and was in a disturbed condition, a fact referred to by Śaṅkara himself.[7] The human mind is naturally averse to restraints, which are implied in any social arrangements, and whenever the socila sanction behind them slackens for some reason or the other, it throws them off and tries to live a free life, at least so far as it can. Such a period existed before the advent of Śaṅkara.

All this required a comprehensive genius and a powerful personality to harmonise the various theories into one composite system of thought and practice and to reinstate

5. It is submitted that even the other passages cited by Dr. Sahasrabuddhe do not seem to favour such a thesis.
6. Vide Jaimini's Sūtra आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वादानर्थक्यमतदर्थनाम् ॥
7. Śaṅkara says : इदानीमिव च कालान्तरेऽप्यव्यवस्थितप्रायान् वर्णाश्रमधर्मान् प्रतिजानीत ॥ ब्र.सू. I : 3 : 33

the sanctions and stabilise the social order. Both these needs were answered by the advent of a personality like that of Śaṅkara, who combined in himself the philosopher and the social reformer.

We know very little about the genealogy of Śaṅkara. What little we know can be represented as follows :

Unknown

3

Vidyādhirāja (Śaṅkara's grand father)

3

Śivaguru - married to Aryamba or Aryā
(Śaṅkara's parents)

3

ŚAṄKARA

Thus we are told by all the biographers except a few that Śaṅkara's grandfather was a Brahmin named Vidyādhirāja, living at a village (agrahāra) called Kālati on the bank of the Cūrṇā river in Kerala Pradesh. Beyond the name and that he was a very learned brahmin, we know nothing about him. Govindanātha, Cidvilāsa and Br. Saras do not mention him at all. They start the story with Śivaguru and his wife only. The rest, however, unanimously mention him as Vidyādhirāja. As his very name suggests, he must have been a very learned person. Sadānanda describes him as 'Proficient in the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas'[8] and Vyāsacala suggests the same thing when he describes him as questioning his son Śivaguru on all topics like the Bhātta-view, Gurumata, Kaṇabhug-mata &c.[9] Guruvaṁśakāvya tells us that he had acquired great fame[10] while Mādhava refers to him as of 'steady intellect'.[11]

People on the Malabar side are even now a religious people and it need not be said that Śaṅkara's grandfather also must have been a devout worshipper of God and a Strict follower of the Vedic Religion. Cid., Mād. and Sadā. describe how Lord Maheśvara had manifested Himself as a Lingam on the Vṛṣa-mountain (at Trichur, about 30 miles from Kālaḷi) and had directed the Kerala-chief to build a temple to Him and to arrange for his worship. The king is differently mentioned as Srīman Hariharātmaja by Cid., Rājaśekhara by Mād. and as the local King by Sāda., but he is said by all these to have built the shrine

8. Vide Śaṅkara-Digvijaya-Sara - Ch. II:3 and 4
9. Vide Vyāsācalīya - Ch I:21 and 22.
10. Vide Ch. I:39.
11. Vide S.Ś. Jaya - I:4.

and created the agrahāra Kālaḷi. It may be deduced from this story that such a shrine existed even then and that Vidyāahirāja was an ardent worshipper of that God.

Vidyādhirāja had a son called Śivaguru, who himself was a very learned person and was temperamentally detached from worldly life. Vallisahāya calls him the son, called Śivaguru Dixit and describes him as one who had lowered the chief of the gods by his own greatness and whose greatness was recognised by the learned people[12]. Biographers agree in describing him as a very learned person, a great follower of the Vedic religion and performer of great sacrifices.[13] Vyā., Mād. and Sadā. only describe his encounter with his Vidyāguru regarding entering the order of Gṛhasthas, which he is unwilling to do. Mād. is very elaborate while Sāda. is very brief. According to both, his father goes to his Guru's Āśrama and brings him back home. He is then married to a girl from a respectable family. Vyā., Mād. and Rāja.[14] D. refer to the girl as the daughter of Makha-paṇḍita.[14] No other biographer describes any such discussion between Śivaguru and his preceptor nor even his marriage. They presume the marriage and narrate the story ahead of it. In fact, only Cid. and Br. Saras-mention his wife's name as Āryā or Āryāmba and Āryāmbā respectively[14a]. The other biographers simply refer to her as his wife, very devoted to her husband.

With the marriage of Śivaguru and Āryāmba, Vidyādhiraja disappears. We do not hear anything about him thereafter just as we do not know him prior to it. The young couple lived happily for many years but without a child. The Hindus believe in the absolute necessity of having a son and when they did not get one after many years of married life, they became uneasy and consulted each other about it. The wife then narrated the story of Upamanyu as an instance of Lord Śiva's bounty in response to austere penance and accordingly, the biographers tell us, they performed rigorous austerities. Lord Śiva or Vṛṣabhanatha or Vṛṣadeva became satisfied with their tapasyā and appeared to Śivaguru in a dream - according to Br. Saras., He appeared before him in person[15] - and asked him what he desired. When he said that he desired a son, He asked him whether he desired one omniscient but short-lived son or many long-lived dullards, Śivaguru preferred the first. Thus, by His grace, Śaṅkara's birth took place.

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12 Read: स्वगरिमलघुकृतामरेन्द्रः शिवगुरुदीक्षितसंज्ञकः कुमारः ।
सकलकविसमाजमान्यभूमा समजनि तस्य समिद्धयोगसिद्धेः ॥ आचार्यविजयचम्पू I : 48

13 Vide Vyā. - I:32, 33 and 34; Mād. - II:36 to 38; Rāja. D. - I:14.

14. Vide Vyā. - I:29, Mād. II:33 and Raja. D. -I:13.

14a. Vide - Cid. II:40 and V:30 and Br. Saras. IX:5.

15. Read: एवं गतेषु वर्षेषु महेशः करुणानिधिः ।
वृषारूढोऽम्बिकायुक्तो बृषभाचलनायकः ॥
महादेवो गणैः सार्धं दर्शनं प्रददो तयोः ॥ बृ.शं.वि दौ ब्र.सर.IX : 8,9

This is how the story is narrated by most of the biographers. Citsukha also says that Śankara was born by the Grace of God Vṛṣadeva.[16] Br. Saras. and Śivarahasya state openly that Lord Śiva promosed that He Himiself would be born to them as their son.[17] India has know many instances of great men having been born as a result of great penance of their parents. It is just possible that Śaṅkara was one of them.

After the pregancy of Āryāṁba, as a result of the Lord's boon, some biographers describe her Dohadas, only to anticipate events but Cid. goes to the length of saying that just before birth, Lord Śiva manifested Himself before her, in His full divine form. Āryāmba was a little affrighted in the beginning but soon picked up courage and requested Him to become a child and give her the pleasures of seeing his Bālakrīḍā or Bāla-līlā. Lord Śiva consented and the next moment, a child was weeping and kicking in her bed.

Many biographers (Ānandagiri, Cid., Mād., Sadā. Br. Saras. &c.), but not all, narrate the birth of Śaṅkara with all its attendant effects on Nature in general, in the most mythical fashion, a point touched upon in Chapter IV. It is meant to invest Śaṅkara's personality with divinity. The biographers thus deify not only Śaṅkara but also other characters like Kumārila, Maṇḍaṇa, Bhārati, Padmapāda, Citsukha, Ānandagiri &c., that were to figure later in Śaṅkara's life. Just as Śaṅkara is said by some to be Lord Śiva Himself born on earth for uprooting the hostile theorists (Durmata-Khaṇḍaṇa) and establishing Advaita-Philosophy, (biographers like Mād., Br. Saras. and Śiva Rahasya even tell us that Lord Śiva promised the gods who approached Him for relief, that He Himself would take birth as Śaṅkarācārya for these two purposes) these other characters also are said to be the incarnations of various Gods like Skanda, Brahmā, Saeasvati, Viṣṇu and so on. Here also, the same author describes the birth of the same persons alrernatively as from different gods, e.g. Padmapāda from Viṣṇu and Sananandana from Aruṇa[18] (Padmapāda and Sanandana are the same person) or Bṛhaspati becomes Maṇḍaṇa and Ānandagiri.[19] This is mostly from Mādhava's work and his commentator Dhanapati tries to explain the contradiction by resorting to the theory of Pakśantara.[20] Even Ānandagiri in his Pr. Ś.v.seems to fall a victim to this instinct of deifying personalities. All this has, of course, to be dismissed as fantastic description.[21]

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16. Vide T.S,N.Śāstri's 'Age of Śaṅkara', p.34
17.
18. Vide Mād. S.Ś. Jaya - III:2 and III:6.
19. Vide - Ibid. - III:8 and III:6.
20. Read:
    यथापि विष्णुः पद्मपादसंसौबभूवे युक्तं स एव च वक्ष्यमाणरीत्या सनन्दनस्तथापि पक्षान्तरमाश्रित्यैकत्र बोमयांशावतरणमाश्रित्याविरोधः संपादनीयः ॥
21. Read:
    श्रीशोऽभूत्स सनन्दनो कमलभूर्जते तदा मण्डनः ॥ सन् हस्तामलकोब भूव पवनोऽप्यासीदुदङ्कोऽनल सोऽप्यानन्दगिरित्वमाप विषणो भेजे गुहो भट्टताम् । ईशादेशवशात्स चित्सुसवपुर्जातः प्रचेता अपि ॥
    मृत्यु पृथ्वीधव इति यमोऽप्यायमौ विश्वरूपः । दधे येनाऽसिलजिनजिता तत्प्रतापाख्यदाम । लेखाश्चान्ये निगमपदयोमिन्दुसूर्येन्वंशेषप्रख्याः प्रख्यापयितुमुदिताः खण्डनैर्मण्डनैश्च ॥

After the boon, Āryāṁba had become pregnant with the Śāṁbhava, Śaiva or Aiśvara Tejas and in course of time, Āryāṁba gave birth to Śaṅkara at Kālaṭi in Kerala Pradesh.

At this place, I would like to discuss the question of Śaṅkara's birth-place and keep on record the unanimous and conclusive evidence I have been able to collect on the sunject.


Lord Gopalakrishnan
Kaladi

(1) In the last chapter, I have already referred to the tradition regarding the Yatis lighting a lamp near Āryāṁba's Samādhi and the consequent discovery and revival of the place, as also that of Śaṅkara's birth. Till recently, the Aśvatha tree, which Āryāṁba used to worship daily stood in its original place but I am now informed that it no more exists ther - it was removed some 10 years ago. The image of Lord Kṛṣṇa, which also Āryāṁba used to worship daily and the temple in which the image was installed stand there today and a photograph of the image is exhibited on the left.

(2) Citsukha tells us that Kālaṭi was the birth-place of Śaṅkara.[22] When, later, his mother sent message with one of her relatives that she was desirous of seeing him, Citsukha says that Śaṅkara went to Kālaṭi[23] Sanandana also, when he was in search of Śaṅkara, was according to Citsukha, directed by Govindamuni to Kālaṭi only, where he had gone to see his old mother. [24]

(3) Ānandagiri in his Pr. Ś.V. also seems to have said that Śaṅkara's birth took place at Kālaṭi.[25]

(4) Vyāsacala introduces the figure of Śivaguru at Kālaṭi in Kerala.[26] Here he was married and here only was Śaṅkara born. Further on, while narrating the incident of Śaṅkara meeting his mother for the last time, Vyā. expressly says that Śaṅkara went to his own land of birth, by resorting to Yoga.[26a]

(5) Cidvilāsa describes how Nārada came to the earth and in turn to Kerala Deśa, which he describes at great length and then says that Nārada arrived at the famous sacred

22 Vide 'Age of Śaṅkara's, p. 33/34

23 Ibid., p.92/3

24 Ibid., p.99

25 Suṣamā quotes श्रीशोऽभूत्स &c. then says: इत्युपक्रम्य कालथविषय वर्णनानन्तरं कुमारिलोपमान् यथाक्रमं निरूप्य अत्रान्तर इत्यादिना and after this quotes two more stanzas, referring to Śaṅkara's birth.

26 Vide - Vyā.'s Śaṅkara-Vijaya - I:1

26a Read:
कालट्याख्ये ग्रामवर्ये द्विजाग्रयः सत्सन्तोषो केरलेष्वातियेयः । I-1
योगेन गच्छन् सा मुहूर्तमात्रादवातरत्केरलभूविशेषे ।
तद्देशबुध्वया पुनरीक्षमाणः स्वां कालटिं जन्मभुवं प्रपेवे ॥ IV : 94 - Ibid.

27 Read: कालटीति सुविख्यातं क्रमेण क्षेत्रमाप सः ॥ शं.वि.वि. II : 33

place called Kālaṭi.[27] There he saw Śivaguru and his wife practising austere penance for getting a son. Later on, in Chapter V, we are told that Lord Śiva, with a view to conferring a boon on the couple came to Vṛsācala, the Dakśiṇa-Kailāsa, where flowed the Cūrṇi-river.[28] Here was the couple blessed with a child and here was Śaṅkara born.

(6) Rāja. D. tells us that in Kerala, there was a great agrahāra called Kālaṭi.[29] In the following stanzas he tells us that there lived Vidyādhirāja, a learned Brahmin,[30] who had a son named Śivaguru[31] and Śaṅkara also was born at this place.[32]

(7) Mādhava refers to Vṛṣādri in Kerala Pradeśa and says that in the vicinity of it was a big and a beautiful agrahāra called Kālaṭi, where lived Vidyādhirāja.[33] Here was Śivaguru married and here was Śaṅkara born.

(8) Sadānanda does not mention the name Kālaṭi but the other particulars given by him point unmistakably to the same conclusion. Thus he describes the maniferststion of Lord Śiva as a Lingam on the Vṛsamountain, near the Pūrṇa river in Kerala.[34] At this place, he tells us, lived Vidyādhirāja, his son Śivaguru with his wife and here was Śaṅkara born.

(9) Guruvamśa Kāvya refers to Kerala deśa. Then he describes a Brahmin called Śrī sivaguru, the son of Vidyādhirāja[35] and a little later describes Śaṅkara's birth at this place as a result of Śivaguru penance.[36]

(10) Parameśvara Kavikanṭhīrava first describes the manifestation of Lord Śiva in the form of a Lingam on Vṛṣa mountain in the vicinity of the Cūrṇa river and then refers to a great agrahāra called Kālaṭi, which had come into being through the grace of Lord Śiva,

28. Read: नौवृतां केरलानां च पावनत्वं विधित्सया ।
श्रीमदक्षिणकैलासं वृषाच लमवाप सः ॥
चूर्णी सोतस्विनी यत्र गङ्गेवाघौघनाशिनी ॥ V : 4 & 5 -Ibid.

29. Read: केरलेषु नभोलङधिकेरभूरुहशालिषु ।
अस्ति कश्चिन्महानग्रहारः कालटिनामकः ॥ शङ्कराभ्युदय I:11

30. Ibid. I:12;

31. Ibid. I:13.

32. Ibid. I:26.

33. Read: कश्चितदभ्याशगतोऽग्रहारः कालस्यभिख्योऽस्ति महान्मनोज्ञः ।
कश्चिद्विपश्चिदिह निश्चलधीर्धिरेजे विद्याधिराज इति विश्रुतनामधेयः ॥ सं.शं.जय II : 3, 4

34. Read: अथ प्रभुर्भूतपतिर्भवोऽभूद्वृषाद्रिमूर्धो किल लिङ्गरूपी ।
तटे ह्रदिन्याः प्रकटः स्वयम्भूषः पूर्णाभिधायाः शुभकेरलेषु ॥ शं.वि.सार

35. Read: स्वर्णाद्रि ककुभि विमाति दक्षिणस्यां देशे कोऽप्यथ भुवि केरलाभिधानः ।
देशेऽस्मिन् विलसति कारटीति नाम्ना ग्रामः कोऽप्यवनिसुरैर्विभासमानः ॥ I :32
तत्र श्रीशिवगुरुनामकोऽग्रजन्मा प्राग्विद्यापदमधिराजनामधर्तुः ।
संख्यावन्मुकुटमेणेर्विशालकीर्तैरम्भोधेरिव सितरोचिरात्मजोऽभूत् ॥ I :33

36. Read: ततश्च वृषाद्रिवासिनः कृत्तिवाससो भगवतः प्रसादादासावित सम्पदधिकसुयोजनावततससमन्वितः कालटिनामा महानग्रहारः सममूत् ॥

37. Read: दक्षिणे केरले देशे द्विजस्य तनयो ह्यहम् ।
भूत्वा त्वया प्रार्थितं च करिष्यामि न संशयः ॥ बृ. शं.वि.

residing on the Vṛṣa mountain.[37] In this agrahāra lived Vidyādhirāja, his son Śivaguru and his wife and here was Śaṅkara born to the latter couple, through the grace of Lord Śiva.

(11) Br. Saras. is the most explicit in this respect. Nārada approached Lord Śiva for uplift of Dharma and Lord Śiva promised him that he would be born in Kerala as the son of a Brahmin and do what he desired.[37] Later on, this Brahmin is said to be Śivaguru who is described as staying in Kālaṭi, in the vicinity of Vṛṣācala, on the banks of the Cūrṇā-river in Kerala pradeśa.[38] This Brahmin had no son and hence with his wife, practised penance and by the favour of Lord Mahādeva, got Śaṅkara as a son.

(12) Bāla-gopāla Yati refers to Śivaguru only, as living in the village Kālaṭi. He was desirous of a son and worshipped Lord Siva. The lord also said to him in a dream[39] that he would get a son, an incarnation of Absolute Reality Itself and accordingly, Śaṅkara was born, 13 months after conception.[40]

(13) Nīlakaṇṭha refers to a deśa called Kerala and a great agrahāra called Kālaṭi[41] and then describes Vidyādhirāja and Śivaguru as father and son staying at that latter place. At the same place, Śivaguru practised penance for getting a son and here was Śaṅkara born in 788 A.D.[42]

(14) Vallīsahāya introduce Vidyādhirāja in the agrahāra called Kālaṭi in Kerala.[43] The next stanza describes Śivaguru, his son and few stanzas later,[44] narrates the birth Śaṅkara at that very place.

The two Purāṇas Śivarahasya and Mārkaṇḍeya Saṁhitā also bear out the same particulars.

(15) Śivarahasya tells us that Īśvara i.e. Lord Śiva promises his wife that there

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38. Read : भारते दक्षिणे भागे देशे केरळसंज्ञके ।
चूर्णानदीतटे क्षेत्रे वृषाचल इति स्मृतम् ॥
समीपे नगरे तस्य कालटीति सुविश्रुते ।
शशलग्रामे ब्राह्मणेन्द्र यज्वा शिवगुरुर्महान् ॥ Ibid - Ch. IX.

39. Read : कालटीग्रामसंस्थस्य द्विजस्य शिषशर्भणः ।
शिवार्मा द्विजः कश्चिच्छिवोपासनतत्परः ॥
कालटीग्रामवासी सः पुत्रेच्छायुक्त एव हि ।
शिवोऽपि भक्तवात्सल्यात्स्वप्ने तं प्रत्युवाच ह ॥ शं महिमा XXI : 112 / 113.

40. Ibid : XXII : 15.

41. Read : अस्ति.....केरलाभिधानः देशः । शं मन्दार सौरभ I:13:7
अस्ति च तत्र कालटचभिधानो महाग्रहारः ॥ Ibid - I:13:8

42. Ibid : I : 27

43. Read : व्याँ तु कालटिकसंघनाग्रहारे सर्वातिशायिनि गुणैर्द्रविडान्ववाये ।
उद्याननद्यमुपयध्द्विषु केरलेषु विद्याधिराज इति भूमिसुरेन्य आसीत् ॥ आ.दि. I : 47

44. Ibid : I : 54.

45. Read : केरले शशलग्रामें विप्रपत्न्यां मंदशतः ।
भविष्यति महादेवि शङ्कराख्यो द्विजोत्तमः ॥ 9th Aṁsa - Ch, XVI : Stanza - 15.

would be born as Śaṅkara, in the Śaśalagrāma in Kerala, an excellent Brahmin to some Brahmin woman staying there.[45] Śaśalagrāma in Kerala clearly means Kālaṭi.

(16) Mārkaṇḍeya Saṁhitā is absolutely clear that Śrī Śaṅkara born to the wife of Śivaguru in the excellent village or city (purottama) called Kālaṭi.[46]

(17) Even Madhva-Vijaya or Śri Sumadhva-Vijaya as it is called, by Trivikrama Bhatta, says that Śaṅkara (संकर) was born in Anghritala (अङ्घितलेषु) and the commentator Viśvapati-tīrtha explains the expression Aṅghritala by saying Kāradi was the corrupt form or name of the word.[48]

(18) By common consent, Śaṅkara was a Nambudiri Brahmin. His mother belonged to a Nambudiri Brahmin family called Panjurapallai-illam, which according to Prof. B. Upādhyāya lived near Trichur. The Nambudiris generally belonged to the Kerala pradesh. We are further told by Citsukha that the first pujāri of the Badarī-Nārāyaṇa temple was a Nambudiri Brahmin called Agniśarman and that he was a relative of Śaṅkara. This also points to the same conclusion.

All the above authorities unanimously declare that Śaṅkara was born in a village called Kālaṭi or Kālady in the Kerala pradeśa, on the banks of the Cūrṇā river. The printed edition of Ananatanandagiri's Śankara-Vijaya is the only exception which says that Śaṅkara was born at Cidambaram. As, however, stated in Chapter II, this is the only edition or copy of the work to mention this detail. All the other manuscripts (except the one in Oriental Mss. Library, Ujjain) refer to Kālaṭi only as the birth-place of Śaṅkara. It may also be added that Acyutarāya also in his commentary clearlly shows that the manuscripts of that Śaṅkara Vijaya before him referred to Kālaṭi as Śaṅkara's birth-place.[49]

I have also referred to the confusion between the life stories of Śaṅkara and Abhinava-Śaṅkara, the 38th head of Kāmakoti-pīṭha. He is also said to have been born at Cidambaram and possibly this was grafted on to Śaṅkara. The point of Śaṅkara's birth-place, therefore, can be taken as settled.

Immediately on hearing the birth of a son, Śivaguru, overjoyed at heart, took a bath, distributed wealth and got a horoscope of the child prepared by learned astrologers. The

46. Read : कालट्याख्यापुरोत्तमे शिवगुरुवि द्याधिनाथश्च यः ।
तत्पत्न्यां शिवतारके समुदितः श्रीशङ्कराख्यां वहन् ॥

47. Read : मा.सं. स 72nd Khanda : Ch. 7 : Stanza - 4.
स संकराख्योऽङ्घितलेषु जज्ञे । Ch.I : 47 सुमध्वविजय

48. Read : अङ्घ्रितल इत्यस्य कारडि इत्यपभ्रष्टसंज्ञा ।
तौलवानां भाषयाऽङ्घ्रेः "कार" इति तलस्य अडि इति च प्रसिद्धेः ॥ Comm.on I : 47, above.

49. Vide his comm. on Mādhava's Sri Śaṅkara Vijaya - Ch. II Stanza 1.

50. Vide Vyā. IV : 25/6; Govindanātha : II : 62 / 3 / 4; Mād. II : 79, 80 Sadānanda - II : 36 to 39.

astrologers unanimously declared that the child would become an omniscient person, write commentaries on the prasthāna-traya, defeat in argument the protagonists of various schools of thought and establish Advaita-philosophy.[50] These biographers are careful to tell us that Śivaguru did not ask them about the span of his life.[51] Govindanātha omits a reference to the point altogether. Biographers like Anantānandagiri, Cidvilasa, Rāja. D., the author of G.V. Kāya do not at all describe the astrologer - business. Thereafter, Jāta-karman is performed[52] and the child is named Śaṅkara. Different biographers give different reasons for giving him that name. Thus, Rāja. D. says that Śaṅkara was so named because he was known to be an incarnation of Lord Śaṅkara.[53] Govindanātha says that out of his own devotion to Lord Śaṅkara, he named his son after[54] him. Vyāsācala, Mâdhave and G.V.K. say that he was so named because he gave excellent happiness or because he was a fruit of Lord Śaṅkara's grace.[55]

We need not believe all these mythical accounts given only in anticipation. We can only say a son was born to Śivaguru's wife, perhaps through the grace of Lord Śiva and he was named Śaṅkara by his parents. It is quite possible that the child's horoscope, which Śivaguru must have got prepared immediately, revealed an unusually brilliant future for the new-born son.

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51. Vide Vyā. IV : 26; Mād. - II : 80; Sadā. - II : 40.
52. Vide - Vyā. IV : 21; Rāja. D. - I : 29, Sadā. - II : 36; G.V.K. - I : 61.
53. Vide शङ्कराभ्युदय I : 30
    अर्धेन्दुशेखरस्याऽयमवतारममुं विदन् ।
    शङ्करं जगतां चक्रे शङ्करं नामतोऽपितासः ॥
54. Read : चक्रे शङ्करनामानं पिता शङ्करभक्तिमान् ॥ III : 1
55. Read :
    यत्पश्यतां शिशुरसौ कुरुते शमन्ग्रयं तेनाऽकृताऽस्य जनकः किल शङ्कराख्याम् यद्वा चिराय किल शङ्करसम्प्रसादाज्जातस्ततो व्यधित शङ्करनामधेयम् ॥ व्यासाचलिय IV:29
56. The descriptions are as follows :
    १) अर्धेन्दुललाटः पूर्णेन्दुमुखः विशालवक्षा आजानुबाहुरुन्नितम्बः पीनोरुः गूढगुल्फः स्वल्पपादः शोणनखः करपादशङ्खस्थलेषु शङ्खचक्रादिचिन्हितः, शिरसि वामभागे त्रिकूलचिहनम, दक्षिणभागे त्वर्धचन्द्रचिन्हमेवमङ्कद्वयेन साक्षाच्चिदम्बरेश्वर इव विराजमानः, समप्रमाणशरीरः, मौग्जीदण्डाजिनतिलकधारणभिक्षाशनादिभिः शास्त्र विधिरेव.... ॥ अनन्ता शं.वि. Ch. III

    २) बालभावे विशालाक्षमतिविस्तृतवक्षसम् ॥
    आजानुलम्बितभुजं सुविशालनिटालकम् ॥
    मुखकान्तिपराभूतराकाहिमकराकृतिम् ।
    भासा गौर्या प्रसृतया प्रोद्यन्तमिव भास्वरम् ॥
    शङ्खचक्रध्वजाकाररेखाचिन्हपदाम्बुजम् ।
    द्वात्रिंशल्लक्षणोपेतं विद्युदामकलेवरम् ॥ चिद्विलासीय शं.वि.वि. V : 58 to 61

    ३) मूर्धनि हिमकरचिहनं निटले नयनाहकमंसयो शूलम् ।
    वपुषि स्फटिकसवर्णं प्राशास्तं मेनिरे शुम्भुम् ॥ से.शं.जय II : 90
    मागेनोरसि पामरेण चरणे बालेन्दुना कालके ।
    पाण्योश्चक्रगवाधनुर्डमरुकैर्मूर्ध्नि त्रिशूलेन च ॥
    ततस्यादुमुतमाकलय्य ललितं लेखाकृते ला चितम् ।
    चित्रं गात्रममंस्त तत्र जनता नेत्रैर्निमिशेज्झिसे ॥ माधव सं.शं.जय - II : 92

Equally reliable appear to be the descriptions of Sankara's body, given by Anantānandagiri, Cidvilāsa and Mādhava.[56] The descriptions are so graphic that they almost appear to be eye-witness accounts. We, however, know that they are not.

The writers are removed by centuries from the object of their description. Mutually, however, the descriptions agree more or less, in equating Sankara with Lord Śiva with His divine marks, and perhaps were based on some common previous source. The Śaivite tone is marked in Anant. and Mādhava. Cidvilāsa does not show it. On the contrary, his description seems to be more balanced and natural than these other two and this is in keeping with Mr. Śāstri's statement that Cidvilāsa follows Citsukha for the major part. Here also, it may be deduced that Śaṅkara had a peculiarly engaging personality right from his childhood and perhaps was endowed with some unusual marks on his body, which predicted great things for him. It is worth noting that writers, who could give such detailed descriptions of Śaṅkara's body, say nothing whatsoever about the particulars of the time of his appearance in the world.

We now come to Śaṅkara's education.

According to Citsukha, Śaṅkara exhibited uncommon intelligence in his very first year, so much that his father felt it necessary to celebrate his first lessons in writing the characters (akṣarābhyāsa) when he reached the third year. He could recite any work after hearing it only once. He learnt the branches of secular literature like grammar and rhetoric in less than two years.

The other biographers agree about Śaṅkara's un-common talents but give exaggerated accounts of his early accomplishments. Thus, Govindanātha says that Śaṅkara picked up the characters by writing them only once.[57] G.V.K. and Nīlakantha put it in the third year. Cidvilāsa agrees with these people but adds the sciences of metre, poetics, Gītā, Vāditra and Dance and also declared Śaṅkara a tattva-vicāra-vit. Mādhava says that Śaṅkara learnt his characters and language in the first year, to write the characters and speak the language in the second and all the Käryas and Purāṇas without hearing them in the third. He recited after a single hearing the Vedas, Tarka and Naya and also sported in the field of poetry. He also defeated opponents in argument. Parameśvara, following Mādava, describes all this learning in a single stanza.[58] Anantānandagiri, Rāja. D., Br. Saras. and Vallī. are silent over this early period of his education. Most of the biographers tell us that Śivaguru performed Sankara's Cūḍākarman in his third year.

After Śaṅkara had finished his training in the secular sciences, he had to be sent to the Gurukula for studying the Vedas, For that study, thread-ceremony was necessary and

57. Vide : शं.चरित- III : 3 एकवारं लिखित्वा स जग्राह लिपिसंचयम् ।

58. Vide आचार्यविजय - II : 4.

seeing that Śaṅkara was a particularly gifted child, Śivaguru must have thought of performing it in his fifth year, in accordance with the scriptures. Śaṅkara's upanayana and Śivaguru's passing away are allied incidents and there is difference of opinion among the biographers on this point.

According to Citsukha, Śivaguru had to invest Śaṅkara with the sacred thread in his fifth year onlyl and only after doing so, he passed away.[59] Citsukha even tells us that Śaṅkara left his house in search of his Guru in his ninth year, exactly one year after his father's death.[60] From this, it appears that Śivaguru was alive for about two years after Śaṅkara's thread-ceremony and passed away sometime in his eighth year.

Ānandagiri also, in his Pr. Ś.V. says that Śaṅkara's father left this world after performing his Cūḍākarman and thread-ceremony.

Among the later biographers, only Cidvilāsa and Br. Saras. agree with the version above. Cidvilāsa says that Śaṅkara was invested with the sacred thread and Śivaguru was thinking of his marriage. Śaṅkara did not like the idea but, waited till his death, which, he knew, was coming soon and Śivaguru did actuallly pass away shortly after his thread-ceremony.

Br. Saras. tells us that Śivaguru performed Śaṅkara's thread-ceremony in his seventh year. His maternal uncle gave him many ornaments and clothes by way of presents and also some gold vessels. Śivaguru's passing away, however, is placed by him in the eleventh year of Śaṅkara. Thus, one day during that year, Śivaguru called Śaṅkara and after embracing him said that he i.e. Śaṅkara was Lord Śambhu Himself, born for the welfare of mankind. He had obtained him as his son by hard penance. He wanted to go to Kailāsa but desired Śaṅkara to perform his last rites. He, then, called his wife and asked her not to go suttee but to stay behind for the protection of Śaṅkara. He, then, called his brother-in-law Mahādeva and asked him to protect these two persons by staying with them only and to arrange for Śaṅkara's marriage with a becoming bride when he entered youth. After delivering this last message, he passed away.

The rest of the biographers agree in placing Śivaguru's death prior to the performance of Śaṅkara's thread-ceremony. According to them, the ceremony was performed in his fifth year by Śaṅkara's relatives after Śivaguru's death. Rāja.D. alone says that Śaṅkara was 6 years old at the time of the ceremony.

Vyā., Govindaṇātha, Rāja. D. and Vallī. place Śivaguru's death in Śaṅkara's fifth year while according to Mād., Sadā., G.V.K. and Nīlakaṇṭha, it took place in Śaṅkara's third year, immediately after the performance of the Cūḍākarman. According to Bāla Gopāla, Śivaguru was absent from the time of his wife's pregnancy. He does not describe his passing away as such.

59. Vide "Age of Śaṅkara" - p.35.
60. Ibid - p. 36).

Out of these, we can easily rule out the accounts of Br. Saras. and Bāla G. as altogether unsupported. Out of the rest, Citsukha can be believed and accepted, he being Śaṅkara's contemporary. He is also supported by Cidvilāsa.

After the performance of the thread-ceremony, Śaṅkara was naturally sent to a Gurukula, where Citsukha, (Viṣṇuśarman), was his co-student and Cit. says that he mastered all the various lores with surprising swiftness and avidity even before he was eight years old, i.e. within about three years. Citsukha says that as a student, Śaṅkara had, by his genial nature, endeared himself to all about him. He also composed a work Bālabodha-samgraha, when he was only six years old.[61]

Later biographers repeat this story. Anantānandagiri describes him as one who had mastered all the lores by a single hearing.[62] Mādhava says that Śaṅkara learnt everything that his preceptor could teach him within two months and that naturally, his co-students could not keep pace with him. Sadānanda says that Śaṅkara learnt all the four Vedas with the six Aṅgas and also began to expound their meaning to others. G.V.K. informs us that Śaṅkara learnt eighteen Vidyas and began to teach them to other pupils.

According to Br. Saras., Śaṅkara, after the Upanayana, went to the hermitage of Sage Agastya for Vedic study and learnt from him all the lores during a stay of three years. At the end of the period, he gave him Guru-Dakśiṇa and with his permission, returned home. One day, Śivaguru saw him meditating and naturally he questioned him about it. Śaṅkara told him that he was practising Ṣaḍādhāra Dhyānayoga at the instance of his Guru Ṣivaguru asked him to explain the particular 'yoga' and Śaṅkara did it. This explanation is given by Br. Saras at great length. Some days after this incident, Śivaguru's death took place, as described already.

Nīlakaṇṭha says that when Śaṅkara finished his education, he expressed to his Guru a desire to give him some Dakśiṇā but the preceptor refused it. Śaṅkara, therefore, offered it by way of one thousand salutes (praṇāma) and came home.

The biographers generally refer to the four Vedas and the Vedāṅgas as having been mastered by Śaṅkara but Rāja. D. also adds systems like Pūrva-mimaṁsa and Yoga to this group. The traditional stanza, however, describes Śaṅkara as Caturvedi at eight years of age.[63].

It is difficult to find people today, ready to accept this account of Śaṅkara's education, which, to them, appears fabulous, for any degree of intelligence. That is why Mr. C.N. Krṣṇaswāmy Īyer regards "the tender age when he finished his course of studies

61. Vide 'Age of Śaṅkara' - p. 35.
62. The words are : सकृच्छ्रवणादवगतसर्वविथा । - Ch. III शं.यि..
63. Read : अष्टवर्षे चतुर्वेदी.... ॥.
64. 'Three Great Ācārya - pp. 13, 14.

as having been given in a careless manner or with intent to add to the Guru's greatness and holds "that in all probability, Śaṅkara had become a young man by the time he returned to his own house, having, in the usual course, completed his study of the Śāstras in the house and under the guidance of his teacher.[64] He makes it clear that he only intends to reject tenth-rate and meaningless miracles. Dr. Rādhākṛṣṇan feels that at the most we can say that "Śaṅkara was youthful prodigy of Vedic learning and free intelligence."[65]

Before dealing with the next phase of Śaṅkara's life, viz. Sannyāsa, search for a Guru & c.; it is necessary to discuss a few monor incidents, narrated between Upanayana and Sannyāsa. The following four incidents have been mentioned in this connection.

(1) Once, during the period of his instruction in the Gurukula, Śaṅkara had gone out for Bhikśā, when he came to the house of a very poor Brahmin. His wife alone was in the house. She had nothing to offer him but Śaṅkara insisted on her giving him something - whatever it may be. Ultimately, she gave him a dried-up āmalaka-fruit which she found in the house.

Śaṅkara was touched by the degree of her poverty and praised Goddess Lakśmi, who appeared before him and asked him his desire. Śaṅkara requested Her to bestow wealth upon the poor couple but she pointed to their past Karma as the reason of their present poverty. Śaṅkara, however, requester Her to give them wealth in return for the Āmalaka-fruit offered to him just then. She consented and sent down a shower of Golden Āmalakas in their court-yard. Thus requiting and relieving the couple, Śaṅkara left the place and returned to the Gurukula.[66]

It seems that like some other stories, this one also is meant only to add to the glory and greatness of Śaṅkara, particularly because only Mādhava, Sadānanda Parameśvara and Nilakaṇṭha (the latter two following Mād. almost completely), give it. None of the older biographers or even the rest of the later ones, mentions it. Mādhava has picked it up

65. Vedanta - Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, p.12.

66. Br. Saras. gives this story a little differently and at a later stage, viz., when Sankara was on his way to the place of Govindamuni.

Thus, when Śaṅkara went to Kadambanagara, he went to the house of a brahmin for food (Bhiksa). his wife alone was at home, the husband having gone out for going round the temple there and for reciting some stotras.

Read : कदम्बनगरे नित्यं भर्ता देवालयस्य तु ।
वीथीः प्रदक्षिणीकुर्वन यायात्स्तोत्रपुरःसरम् ॥ - Ch. XII.

She told Śaṅkara that on his return, the husband would give him rice (Drona-taṇḍula) but she would not let him go away without Bhiksā, lest it should destroy their merit (puṇya) Śaṅkara, thereupon, asked her to bring him anything she had in the house. She then brought an āmalaka-fruit (Tailapakva Āmalaka). Seeing their poverty, Śaṅkara invoked Lakshmi, who at this instance, showered golden Āmalakas in their house. She makes no reference to the past deeds of the Brahmin-couple. The location and timing of the story also are different. Hence, it has been given, even at the cost of some repetition.

verbatim from Tirumala Dīxit, in whose work it appears for the first time.

(2) After Śaṅkara had returned home from the Gurukula, Rājaśekhara, the then ruler of Kerala learnt about Śaṅkara's genius and sent his minister to Śaṅkara to fetch him to the place. Śaṅkara, however, declined the request and sent him back. The king, thereupon, came in person to Śaṅkara's house and placed before him 1000 gold coins. Śaṅkara politely refused these also and requested that they should be distributed to householders, as he did not require them. Mādhava tells us that the king requested Śaṅkara to bless him with a son. Śaṅkara said that his desires would be fulfilled and then in private asked him to perform a sacrifice (iṣṭi) for the purpose. The king gladly agreed to do so. The king also read out to him the dramas written by himself.

This story also appears for the first time in Tiru. D. and is also given by Rāja.D., Mādhava, Sadânanda, Guru V.K. Parameśvara and Nīlakaṇṭha. Out of these, Tiru D., Rája. D., Guru V.K. and Param. give the name of the king as Rājaśekhara. The remaining three do not mention it. The commentator of Mādhava identifies the king as Rājaśekhara and Mādhava also identifies him as such in Chapter XIV of his work. Dr. Zambre, however, in his thesis on Rājaśekhara, has shown very clearly that

(i) the dramatist Rājaśekhara belonged to the 10th century A.D.

(ii) the dramatist Rājaśekhara was never a king and that no king of that name was ever a dramatist and

(iii) no king named Rājaśekhara is ever known to have ruled Kerala.

The story, therefore, can be rejected as unfounded.

(3) Sometime after the visit of Rājaśekhara, we are told by biographers, holy sages like Upamanyu, Gautama and Agastya came to Śaṅkara's house. Śaṅkara offered them due worship. In the course of the conversation that ensued, Śaṅkara's mother asked them about the life-span of Śaṅkara. Agastya told her that he was destined to live on earth, only for sixteen years but that he would spend another sixteen years and then go back to his divine abode. With these words the sages left the house. Āryāṁba was very much pained by this news but Śaṅkara consoled her by means of some beautiful philosophy and also conveyed to her his intention to renounce all worldly life for the same reasons.

This is the story as narrated by Tiru. Dixit, Mādhava, Sadānanda, Paraméśvara and Nīlakaṇṭha. Parameśvara omits a reference to the question regarding Śaṅkara's life-span. Like the others, however, he also makes Āryāṁba request the sages to tell her how Śaṅkara had acquired such learning and fame at such a tender age.

Br. Saras.'s version of this story is, as usual, different from the one above. According

67. Read : पञ्चमाब्दे बालकस्य बालं द्रष्टुं मुनीश्वरः ।
अगस्त्यो निजशिष्यैश्च ययौ शिवगुरोर्गृहम् ॥ &C. वृ.शं.वि. Ch. IX.

to him, this visit took place when Sankara was in his fifth year and Sivaguru was still alive.[67] In Śaṅkara's fifth year, sage Agastya came with his disciples, to the house of Sivaguru, to see Śaṅkara. Agastya told Śivaguru that Śaṅkara would refute all the Durmatas and establish Advaita in the country. Agastya then wrote a Rudra-Kavaca on bark-leaf and tied it round the neck of Śaṅkara and then went back to his hermitage on the top of the mountain.

All this story seems quite absurd and can be dismissed straightaway. Like the first two, this one also appears in Tiru. D. for the first time and most evidently, is a prediction after the event, only to extol and heighten the greatness of Śaṅkara.

(4) The last story relates to the changing of the course of the Cūrṇī river and is described by seven biographers, the others making no reference to it.

Vyāsācala, Govindanātha and G.V.Kāvya merely tell us that Śaṅkara saw that his ageing mother could not afford to walk the disstance (of about two miles) to the river every day and hence brought it near his house. Rāja.D. says that Śaṅkara by resorting to his yogic powers, created a river called Aṁbā. According to Mādhava, Śaṅkara's mother had, one day, gone to the river as usual. Unable to bear the heat of the Sun, she fell down unconscious on the ground. Anxious over the delay in her return, Śaṅkara went and found her in that condition. He sprinkled water on her face and brought her back to consciousness and then brought her back home, with the help of other people. He then prayed to the river, which said that he would get what he desired. The next day, people were surprised to find the river flowing near the house of Śaṅkara. According to Nīlakaṇṭha, the mother was unable to come back by herself but had not fainted. Śaṅkara, with his disciples, went to her help, held an umbrella over her head and brought her back home.

This story receives corroboration from other quarters also. Thus, Ānandagiri in his Pr.Ś.V. also tells us that Śaṅkara brought the river Cūrni near his mother's abode.[68]

Secondly, tradition is Malabar and particularly in Kālaṭī is unanimous on this point and I could testify to it when I had been to the place.

Thirdly, one gentleman, there, gave me a very interesting derivation of the very name Kālaṭi. That word, he said, was of Malayalam origin and meant 'water issuing from the foot' and then he went on to narrate how, with a view to relieving his mother of her daily troubles, Śaṅkara asked the river to give up the old course and take the new one, as indicated by him by by his foot (कालु).

The river thereupon changed her course accordingly and began to flow where we find her today.

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68. Read : चूर्णीमन्तिकमानिनाय जननीधाम्नः स्वराजः प्रभोः ।
किं वा दुष्करमत्र सर्वजगती जालक्रियाशीलिनः ॥ - quoted by Suṣamā on G.R.M. - Stanza - 18.

Even today, we are shown the two beds of the river, the old one being a couple of miles away from the present one. During the rainy season, that bed also becomes full of water.

This story need not be brushed aside altogether. Even without going as far as Ānandagiri who says that nothing is difficult for those who manage the affairs of the whole world, we may say that this story represents only a configuration of the phenomenon of the river giving up its old course and taking a new one - an event not at all uncommon in the geographical history of a country. We can further say that the phenomenon took place about the same period of Śaṅkara's life at which this feat is ascribed to him. Out of the four incidents, therefore, this seems to be the one likely to have in it some historical truth.

Mādhava tells us that many learned pundits came to Sankara at that age only and learnt important Darśanas under him, to attain the skill of the king of snakes. This is sheer anticipation. Śaṅkara had yet to finish his training in Vedānta and to start giving instructions, which, according to Citsukha, come only after he leaves his house and is initiated into the order of Sannyāsins. The story of his Sannyāsa and training in Vedānta forms the subject matter of the next chapter.

Chapter - VII

SANNYĀSA, SEARCH FOR A GURU, TRAINING IN VEDĀNTA AND INITIATION

Just after Śaṅkara's return from the Gurukula, some talk seems to have been going on about his marriage. Cidvilāsa says that his father was thinking about it but passed away before he was able to do anything in the matter. Tiru.D. whom Mādhava follows to the letter, says that the mother desired Śaṅkara to marry and said so to him. Śaṅkara disliked the idea but only with a view not to hurt her feelings, kept quiet after putting in a couple of arguments.[1] Śaṅkara, perhaps, had already made up his mind to renounce the worldly life and leave his home but possibly, his mother opposed him. He was, therefore, thinking of some opportunity to put his decision into practice and to do so with his mother's permission. He came by one such when, one day, he had gone to the Cūrṇi river for bath as usual and a powerful crocodile, notorious for its strength inside the water, caught his foot. Śaṅkara, naturally cried for help and many people gathered on the bank and so did the mother also come to the place. None of those present was able to help Śaṅkara against the crocodile. Ultimately, Śaṅkara cried aloud to his mother and requested her to permit him to become a Sannyāsin. Most of the biographers suggest that according to Śaṅkara, that was the only way to escape from the clutches of the crocodile.[2] The mother naturally wished that he should live - may be as a Sannyāsin-rather than that she should lose him permanently and hence gave her consent. Immediately

Śaṅkara proclaimed his renunciation orally and came out of the water and most joyfully the mother and the son embraced each other.

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1. Br. Saras. gives an interesting story in this connection. He says that about three years after Śivaguru's death, Śaṅkara's maternal uncle, Mahādeva began to discuss the question of Śaṅkara's marriage. Śaṅkara did not like it but the uncle, with the consent of Āryāṁba, came to Subrahmanya-sthala, along with Śaṅkara and other relatives, for seeing a girl. There, in a secluded place, Nārada met Śaṅkara and reminded him of his life's mission. Śaṅkara consequently began to think of Sannyāsa and to meditate on Lord Ganesa, for getting mother's permission for it.

   The story is given only as an additional curiosity. It is superflous to consider it any further.

2. Rāja. D. tells us that Śaṅkara's original span of life of eight only was over. Hence this incident came about. His becoming a Sannyāsin would be a second birth and he would be able to live for eight years more. Śaṅkara puts up this argument to his mother, in favour of Sannyāsa.

Cidvilāsa, Raja. D. G.V.Kāvya and Br. Saras. tell us that the crocodile was only a Gandharva (called Puṣparatha according to Cid. and Br. Saras) under a curse of Brahmā. According to Cid., the curse had come upon him due to his transgressing the orders of Brahmā. According to Br. Saras., at the marriage-ceremony of Puṣparatha's daughter, Brahmā was present but Puṣparatha did not notice him and hence did not worship him. Enraged by this, Brahmā cursed him to become a crocodile in a water-reservoir but at his request decreed that he would be freed from that condition by the touch of the foot of Śaṅkara, who would be born in Kālaṭi.[3] Cid. gives a similar account of the Gandharva's liberation from the curse. Bāla-Gopāla is the only biographer to heighten the miraculous effect of this incident by adding[4] that the crocodile was created by Śaṅkara himself.

Biographers like Vyāsācala, Govindanātha, Mādhava and Sadananda do not refer to the curse at all. Vallī, Sahāya is very brief and tells us simply that Śaṅkara once entered a lake and was caught by a corcodile. He, however, leapt out of its clutches as he did from the first to the fourth Āśrama.[5]

Ānandagiri seems to favour this story of the crocodile and also of the curse.[6] We do not know the version of Citsukha in the matter but it may be noted that among the later biographers, Tiru. D. omits this story altogether. With all the other biographers, however, narrating this story in the same terms, more or less, it is very difficult to say what value should be attached to the same. It seems to have more than a merely allegorical significance, viz., that "one caught by the crocodile of ignorance in the river of transmigration does not attain liberation without renunciation."[7] At thte most, we may make a qualified acceptance by saying that there was some real peril an Śaṅkara, making use of it, resorted to Āpat-Sannyāsa.

Bāla-Gopāla gives us an interesting episode here. As soon as Śaṅkara became a Sannyāsin by Preṣoccāra, Gods assembled in heaven to praise him and rained down on him garlands of Māndāra-flowers.[8] They, however, feared that by his spread of knowledge

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3. Read : कालट्यां शशलभामे शङ्करोऽवतरिष्यति ।
तस्य पादस्पर्शनेन मुक्तिस्तव भविष्यति ॥ बृ.शं.वि. by ब्र.सर.
4. Vide his Śaṅkarācārya-Mahimā - XXII : 26.
5. Vide his Āchārya-Digvijaya-Campu II :9A, 9B.
6. Read : स्नानायेव गतोऽवगाहनविधौ ग्राहग्रहार्ति पथे ।
मात्रे कांचिविवोपदर्श्य मधुरं लब्ध्वाऽभ्यनुज्ञां ततः ॥
प्रेषोच्चारणपूर्वकं सनियमं जग्राह हृष्टान्तरो ।
नक्रः सोऽप्यमुचत्स्वशापविकृतिं पादावमर्शात्प्रथोः ॥
quoted by Suṣama as from Pr.Ś.V. of Ānand. Comm. on GRM-St.18
7. Read : 'तात्पर्य अे छे के संसाररूपी नदीमां अज्ञानरूप मगरे पकडेला पुरुषने संन्यासबिना मोक्ष मलतो नथो' - Introdn. p.101 to translation of Mādhava's Sri Śaṅkara Vijaya, by Sri K.G. Devāśraya.
8. Read : मन्दारपुष्पमालाभिरलङ्कृत्य जगत्पतिम् ।
तुष्टुवुः कृतसंन्यासं देवाः सर्वेऽपि सत्वरम् ॥ शं.महिमा - XXII : 36.

(of self), all would become liberated and as a result of his establishing Sannyāsa, no one would care to give oblations to the Gods. They, therefore, requested him to retain the Karma-marga also. Śaṅkara assured them that he was not going to establish Sannyāsa for destroying Karman but for removing the ego-sense, that Karma-marge would remain as a necessity even for those desirous of (self) knowledge and also because all the people would not be able to realise the unity of the soul all too soon and thus would necessarily remain fit for the Karma-marge only. The gods were satisfied with this answer and repaired to their respective abodes.

This is another absurd story and need not be considered at any length.

Śaṅkara had renounced by Preṣoccāra only but as soon as has come out of the river, he had a keen desire to find out a Guru and perform renunciation according to religious rites. With great difficulty, he obtained his mother's permission for it and then making over all his father's property and his mother to the care of his relatives, he bade them attend to all her wants properly. He, then, himself gave her a promise which is best put in the beautiful words of the old poet Vyāsācala. Śaṅkara said :

"Whenever, O mother, by day, night or any other time, you remember me, I shall come to you at that very moment, having given up everything and believe me I shall perform your last rites after your death.[9]

"You should never think I forsook you in your helpless widowed condition and became a recluse. I shall help you obtain hundred times the fruit that you would by my staying here."[10]

It is a very touching promise and speaks eloquently for Śaṅkara's great affection for his mother. All great souls have exhibited similar feeling, particularly for their mothers. Yet, real greatness lies in the capacity to subordinate sentiment and emotion to the sense and call of duty. Śaṅkara lived up to that ideal of greatness and left his house to persue his life's job.

We are told by Citsukha that just before he left, he saw Lord Acyuta in a dream and blessing him with a successful journey. He directed him to Govindamuni on the banks of the Narmadā-river, for initiation into Krama-Sannyāsa. Cit. says that at this time, Śankara composed Acyutaṣṭaka.

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9. Read : अह्यम्ब रात्रिसमये समयान्तरे वा । संचिन्तय स्ववशाऽवशाऽथ वा माम् । एष्यामि तत्र समयं सकल विहाय ।
विश्वासमाप्नुहि मृतावपि संस्करिष्ये ॥ व्यासाचलीय - IV : 52.

10. Read : संन्यस्तवान् शिशुरयं विधवामनाथाम् ।
क्षिप्त्वेति मां प्रति कदाऽपि न चिन्तनीयम् ।
यावन्मया स्थितवता फलमापनीयम् ।
मातस्ततः शतगुणं फलमापयिष्ये ॥ - Ibid - IV : 53.

This story is not altogether unbelievable. Perhaps, this fact was later on converted into the story of Lord Kṛṣṇa appearing before Śaṅkara and requesting him to relieve Him of the trouble on account of the beating of the waves of the Cūrṇi-river, now running close by Him and then Śaṅkara doing so by placing the image of Lord Kṛṣṇa some distance away, perhaps where we see it now.[11]

According to Citsukha, Śaṅkara took his mother's permission on the 11th day of Kārtika-Śukla-Pakśa of the year 2639 Yudh. Śaka = 500 B.C. While passing through Gokaṇa, he was joined by Viṣṇu-Śarman, who subsequently became known as Citsukhācārya. Śaṅkara wandered about for one year in Northern India, until he met Govindamuni at Amarakānta on the banks of the Narmadā. Just as Śankara was directed to Govindamuni by Lord Achuta appearing in a dream, so also Govindamuni was informed of Śaṅkara's arrival and he was ordained to initiate him into Sannyāsa. Accordingly, he was waiting with his son Bhartṛhari or Bhartṛprapañca, to receive Śaṅkara. When, therefore, Śaṅkara actually reached his place, he found Govindamuni surrounded by Bhartṛhari and his other disciples and the eyes of both were filled with tears.

Śaṅkara, with all the reverential feeling of a true disciple, fell at his feet and the latter also received him with open arms. Śaṅkara stayed there for one year and then on the 2nd day of Phālguna-kṛṣṇa-pakśa, 2640 Yu.Ś. i.e.499 B.C. Govindamuni, though diffident of his capacity to do it, initiated Śaṅkara into Krama-Sannyāsa, in accordance with the Lord's command. Śaṅkara stayed there for one year more and during these two years sat at the feet of Govindamuni and learnt from him all Vedānta and other important works, then current. It was during this period that Śaṅkara composed Naramadāṣṭaka and other minor works like

(1) प्रातःस्मरण	(2) साधनपञ्चक
(3) यतिपञ्चक	(4) वाक्यवृत्ति
(5) विवेकचूडामणि	(6) दशश्लोकी
(7) आत्मानात्मविथेक	(8) मायाविवरण
(9) प्रणवभाष्य	(10) राजयोगभाष्य
(11) बालबोधिनी	(12) एकादशोत्तरशतवाक्यग्रन्थ

Among the many works that Śaṅkara was taught by Govindamuni, Gauḍapāda's Kārikas on the Māṇḍukya- Upaniṣad appealed to him most, as containing Vedānta philosophy in a nutshell. Śaṅkara naturally expresssed to Govindamuni a desire to see his Parama-guru Gauḍapāda and also to write a commentary on the Kārikās. Govindamuni was happy over the suggestion and himself took Śaṅkara to the Badarikāśrama, where

11. Vide : Vyā.'s Ś.V. - IV : 56 to 60.
Mād.'s Śri Śaṅkara Vijaya - V : 75 to 79.

Śaṅkara saw Gauḍapāda, about 120 years old and engaged permanently in Brahmaṁṣṭha, only waiting for his grand-disciple. Śaṅkara prostrated himself before him and Gauḍapāda also immediately accepted him as his new pupil, promising to teach him all he knew. Śaṅkara studied under him for four years and one day obtained permission to write a commentary on the Kārikās, which he did immediately. Gauḍapāda was so much pleased with it that he asked him to write commentaries on the prasthānatraya and thereby to establish the supremacy of Advaita-Vedānta. It was during these four years that Śaṅkara wrote commentaries on the Bhagavad-Gītā, Sanat- sujātīya and Viṣṇushasranama. With Anugīta and Uttaragīta,[12] these formed the Smṛti-prasthạna but since Gauḍapāda had already commented on these two Gītās, Śaṅkara did not touch them. Thereafter, Śaṅkara wrote commentaries on the ten principal Upaniṣads, Nṛriṁha-Pūrvatāpinī, being the first to be commented upon. In his colophon to this commentary, Śaṅkara refers to it as his first performance (Ādya-Kṛti). Gauḍapāda had already written Vivaraṇa in verses on the Nṛsimha-Uttara-tāpini Upaniṣad. Perhaps, Śaṅkara also wrote a commentary on the Kanṣītaki Upaniṣad. The last was his commentary on the Brahma-Sūtras. In all he wrote sixteen commentaries and they are known as Ṣodaśa-Bhāṣyas.[13] During this same period, he also wrote his important minor works like.

(1) षट्पदी (2) हरिस्तुति

(3) शतश्लोकी (4) स्वात्मनिरूपण

(5) परमार्थसारसङ्ग्रह and (6) प्रौढानुभूतिप्रकरण

Gauḍapāda was so delighted at this activity of Śaṅkara that he undertook to take him to Kailāsa and to introduce him and his works to his own Guru Śukamuni and also to Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa. Śaṅkara reckoned himself most fortunate and when actually they went there, Śaṅkara was overjoyed to see them, engaged in Brahmaṁṣṭhā on one of the peaks of Mount Kailāsa. In praise of blessed souls like Śuka and Bādarāyaṇa, Śaṅkara composed Dhanyāṣṭaka. Both these sages were very glad to see Śaṅkara and to go through his works and they pronounced his commentary on the Brahma-sūtras a correct interpretation of the Upaniṣads. They gave him their sincere blessings and asked him to go to Vārāṇaśi to preach and establish the supremacy of the Advaita system of philosophy by conquering the opponents in the religious and the philosophical fields, who were then crushing the spirit out of the true ideal of the Upaniṣads.

12. According to Citsukha, Uttaragita was a part of Mahābhārata. Vide 'Age of Śaṅkara' - p. 67.

13. The sixteen commentaries are :

(1) Viṣṇusahasranāma

(2) Sanatsujāta

(3) Bhagavadgītā

(4) Nṛ. Pū.Tāpini Up.

(5) Kauṣīrākī Up. (6 to 15) ten Upaniṣads.

(6) Brahma-Sūtras.

Immediately after pronouncing their blessings, Gauḍapāda, Śukamuni and Bādarāyaṇa disappeared and Śaṅkara was left alone in that lonely place, lost in thought about the fleeting panorama of life and now longing for a Guru who could lift him out of the tangle of ignorance. While immersed in such a state of resignation, he saw a mystic Guru in human form, milk-white, three-eyed, moon-crested, holding in the four hands a rosary of pearls, a pitcher of nectar, a sacred book and a cinmudrā, young and handsome, with the yogic belt, girdled by a mighty serpent & c., bedecked with garlands of pearls and seated in the posture of an expositor on a stately tabernacle, adorned with myriads of fragrant blooming flowers, at the foot of a banian tree (Vaṭa-druma) in the middle of a majestic and solemn groove on one of the snow-white peaks of Kailāsa, surrounded by holy and hoary sages like Vasiṣtha, Vāmadeva, Bādarāyaṇa, Śuka, Gauḍapāda and a host of others, mighty sages, seated like disciples, with one and the same book in their hands. Śaṅkara approached that mystic Guru and in praise of Him, uttered the famous Dakśiṇamurti-Stotra in ten stanzas[14] and then fell at His feet. The Lord and all others were highly pleased with the hymn and then Śukamuni interceded on his behalf that he was worthy of being taught the mystery of spiritual knowledge. The Divine Teacher received Śaṅkara accordingly and bade the attendants prepare for his initiation into what Śaṅkara described later as Adhyātma-Sannyāsa.

Śaṅkara was then bathed with water from the Ganges and made ready for receiption by a variety of minute ceremonies. He was then smeared with sacred ashes and was made to wear the saffron-coloured robe. With one hand grasping the staff (Daṇḍa) and the other a pitcher (Kamaṇḍalu), once more renounced all worldly desires and expressed his determination to follow the will of the Master. Thereafter, he was presented to Him, the Mighty Teacher but not knowing how to worship, compossed the small hymn called Parā-pūjā and offered it to Him by way of worship. Then, the Mahavākyas were directly taught to him by the Lord, as constituting the knowledge of the Highest Secret and he repeated them solemnly with perfect concerntation on Him. With this impartation and presentation to him of the sacred book, his initiation was complete. The book was found to be his own commentary on the Brahma-sūtras. He expressed his gratitude to the Divine Teacher, who took him to Maha-Kailāsa, where be composed two hymns, (1) शिवपादादिकेशान्तवर्णन and (2) केशादिफादानवर्णन in rapturous delight. From this moment, Śaṅkara became a Jīvan-mukta and composed the two poems (1) आत्मभुजङ्ग and (2) स्वानुभवप्रकरण. The Teacher blessed him with a long life and sound health and ordered him to go forth as a Paramahaṁsa-Parivrājakācārya and also assured him that his philosophy of absolute Monism would be established in the world.

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14. The hymn composed by Śaṅkara contained 10 stanzas only. Ṣureśvara's comm. मानसोल्लास on the same is upto the 10th stanza only. The additional five stanzas given in some places are added by Cutsukha).

Thus blessed, Śaṅkara came back to the hermitage of Bādarāyaṇa at the foot of the Kailāsa mountain, wherefrom the three sages had disappeared. There he found his companion Viṣṇuśarman, sorrowful on account of the disappearance of the three sages and of Śaṅkara himself. He had searched for Śaṅkara in vain and at last waited for him at the hermitage so long. At his request, therefore, Śaṅkara narrated to him all that happened after the three sages disappeared, upto the wonders on the Mahā-Kailāsa. At his request, again, Śaṅkara composed (1) अध्यात्मसंन्यासविधि and (2) वेदान्तडिण्डिम. Viṣṇuśarman's respect for Śaṅkara now became a thousand times increased. He composed Guvaāṣṭaka[15] in praise of Śaṅkara and at thte end of it, requested him to initiate him into Sannyāsa. Śaṅkara had known his devotion and Vairāgya all these six years and after making him go through certain formalities, made him a Sannyāsin and renamed him Citsukha. He imparted to him the real secret of the Mahāvākyas by composing महावाक्यविवरण on the lines taught by the Divine Teacher and thus completed his initiation also.

Now, both Śaṅkara and Citsukha were anxious to go to Benares. Śaṅkara, however, first went to Badarikāśrama to see and pay his respects to Govindamuni, who was delighted to hear Śaṅkara's adventures on Kailāśa and Mahā-Kailāsa and he also bade him go to Banaras forthwith and spread Advaita philosophy.

This is Citsukha's account of Śaṅkara's Sannyāsa, training in Vedānta and initiation into the mysteries of Advaita philosophy. We now turn to the other biographers.

According to Anantānandagiri, Śaṅkara met Govindamuni at Cidambar. According to Bāla Gopāla Yati, Śaṅkara met him on the banks of the Kāveri river while Vallīsahāya brings them together at Puṇḍarīkapura (in the South).

Vyāsācala, Tiru. D., Madhava, Sadānanda, G.V. Kāvya and Nīlakaṇṭha locate the āśrama of the sage on the banks of the Narmadā river (Sadānanda calls the river Indubhavā). Vyāsācala's location, however, is open to doubt for he only says that Śaṅkara came to a distant place (Dūra-deśa) where he found Govidamuni and that from that place, he went to Badarikāśrama. Keraliya-Śaṅkara Vijaya of Govindanatha says that Govindamuni was at Kāśī while Cidvilāsa and Br. Saras describe the meeting of the two at Badarikaśrama. Rāja. D. does not mention the name of the place at all. He simply tells us that having consoled his mother, Śaṅkara left his home and saw in front of him his Guru, Govindamuni, the disciple of Gauḍapāda.[16]

Beyond a few descriptions of forests and glades and mountains given by Mādhava, none except Br. Saras. mentions any stages or period, of Śaṅkara's journey from his house to Govindamuni's āśrama. According to Br. Saras., Śaṅkara, after leaving his house

15. This hymn has been wrongly attributed to Śaṅkara.

16. Read : शिष्यं शुकर्षिशिष्यस्य गौडपादयतीशितुः ।
गोविन्दभगवत्पादं गुरुमग्रे ददर्श सः ॥ शंकराभ्युदय - I : 33.

at the age of sixteen, set out for the north and on his way, lived by begging food. One night, he put up at the residence of a Brahmin, from where he went to Kadamba Nagar. From this place, he went to Kalipura[17] where also he stayed for one night. In this manner, visiting many places, Śaṅkara went to Badari at the end of one year and there he saw Govindamuni, immersed in meditation. He approached him, went round him, bowed low and pleaded for protection from the fear of transmigratory existence.

Govindanatha brings Śaṅkara to his Guru's place at Kāsśī by the aerial path. Rāja.D.'s version has already been noted.

According to Cidvilāsa, after Śaṅkara arrived at the hermitage of Govindamuni at Badarikāśrama, he went round it thrice and after offering him salutations, stood there, near Govindamuni. Govindamuni asked him who he was and the purpose of his visit. Śaṅkara recounted his history in short and said that he had come for Krama-Sannyāsa. Govindamuni, finding him fit for it duly performed his initiation. Then he took him in his lap and transmitted the import (bodha) of the Mahāvākyas into his ears. He then gave him instructions regarding the behaviour of a Sannyāsin and also communicated to him the Guru-paramparā. Finally he bade him go about as a Jīvanmukta, write commentaries and spread Advaita philosophy.

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17. At each of these places, an incident is described by Br. Saras. Thus, at the first place, when Śaṅkara woke up the next morning he heard the sound of musical instruments and also the weeping of the inmates of the house. He approached the brahmin and asked him to explain this mixture of joy and sorrow. The brahmin said that he was performing the thread-ceremony of his son and hence the rejoining but he had another son of the same age, but he had died of snake bite about three years back. If he wore living then, his ceremony also would have been performed, and the weeping was due to his absence. Śaṅkara then asked him to bring the asthis, if any, retained in the house. The brahmin had kept them for immersion in some sacred waters and brought them to Śaṅkara. Śaṅkara took them from him, performed 1000 Mṛtynjaya-mahāmantra japa, sprinkled over the asthis some water from his bowl and praised God. The boy was brought back to life.

The incident at Kadamba-nagar has been described in the last chapter and need not be repeated here.

At Kālīpura, Śaṅkara slept in the outer Verandah of a brahmin's house. The brahmin requested him not to sleep there for fear of Bhadra - Kālī, who came there at night and ate people. Śaṅkara asked him not to fear on that account and slept there. He then protected himself by a Sivakavaca and placed a Yantra over his mouth. Cf. मुखेन भुवनायन्त्रं रचयामास शङ्करः ॥ - Ch. XIII.

When as usual, Kālikā came there and saw all this, she was afraid of going near and went back to the temple. Śaṅkara, however, bound her and ordered her not to eat human beings any more. If she did not obey him, he would laock her up in the sea. Kālikā, then, pleaded that many Jains and Buddhists lived in that city and she ate them only, because all of them were atheists. She, however, agreed not to eat human beings any longer.
Read :

अस्मिन्पुरे वसन्त्यथ जैनाः बौद्धाश्च नास्तिकाः ।
ते सर्वे नास्तिका देव रात्रिका देव रात्रिकाले तु भक्षिताः ॥ इतः परं मनुष्याणां न करोमि च भक्षणम् ॥ बृ.शं.वि. - Ch. XIII.

According to Mādhava and Sadānanda, after Śaṅkara came to the Narmadā river, he was directed to the cave of Govindanātha, as these two biographers call him, by some sage, on being asked about it. On seeing the cave, Śaṅkara came to it and going round the same thrice, prostrated himself outside and praised Govinda. (Mādhava gives a few stanzas in praise of Govinda. Sadānanda does not). Govinda, who had just returned to consciousness of the outer world, was pleased by his sweet voice and asked Śaṅkara who he was. Śaṅkara told him that he was none of the five elements, nor their qualities nor the sense-organs but was Śiva Himself, the residuary Highest Principle.[18]

According to Nīlakaṇṭha, Śaṅkara somehow found out the āśrama, which adorned the bank of the river Narmada, then bathed in its waters, performed his evening rites and drinking some water for food, lay down under a tree for rest.[19] Next morning, he offered his ablutions to the Sun-God and then going to the āśrama of Govinda, went round it thrice and praised Govinda. On being asked who he was, he said that he had come to him to know who he was and so this question did not deserve an answer.[20]

Some writers like Govindanātha, Mādhava and Sadānanda as also the author of Patanjali-Vijaya[21] tell us that Śaṅkara served his Guru for some time before he left him for the Himalayas. Similarly, biographers like Vyā., Govinda., Rāja. D., Mād., Sadā., G.V.K. say that Śaṅkara learnt everything from Govindamuni by his twelth year and then went to Kāśī or Badarikāśrama to write his commentaries.

All biographers, except Br. Saras., say that Śaṅkara's initiation into Sannyāsa as well as Ādhyātma-Vidyā was complete at the hands of Govindamuni only. From his āśrama, Śaṅkara emerged a full-fledged Jīvan-mukta, with orders to write commentaries on the prasthana-traya and to propagate and establish Advaita Philosophy.

Br. Saras. gives, as usual, a different version. Like Cidvilāsa, he also tells us that on being asked his antecedents, Śaṅkara gave Govindamuni a brief account of his life till then and that he desired initiation into Sannyāsa, according to Śāstric rites. To this, however, Govindamuni replied that his Guru was Gauḍapāda, disciple of Śuka but was then in his cave, immersed in meditation. He came out once in six months, out of dayā (grace)

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18. Read :
स्वामिन्नहं न पृथिवी न जलं न तेजः । न स्पर्शनो न गगनं न च तद्गुणाः वा । नापीन्द्रियाण्यपि तु विध्वि ततोऽवशिष्टो । यः केवलोऽस्ति परमः स शिवोऽहमस्मि ॥ माधवीय शं. जय - V : 99
स्वामिन्नाहं धरा नाम्नो न तेजो न प्रसन्न खम् ।
नेन्द्रियं नाप्यहं तेषां समूहो भ्रान्तिकल्पितः ॥ सदा's शां.दि.सार - III : 70.
19. Vide : शं. मन्दारसौरभ - II : 56 : 12
20. Read :
॥ ग. ॥ अथ तदानीमेय समाधेर्व्युथिपतो गोविन्दमहामुनि... को भवान् इति तमाप्रच्छे ॥ १४ ॥ सोऽप्येनं विज्ञापयामास । ॥ २. ॥ कोऽहमित्यनुयुक्ते त्वामागतस्य मम प्रभो ।
कस्त्वमित्यनुयोगस्ते कथं सोत्तरतां भजेत् ॥ - Ibid - II : 62.
21. Vide : - Ch. VIII : 71.

towards men like himself. Only three days back, he went back to his cave and that Śaṅkara would have to wait for six months, after which he would request Gauḍapāda to initiate him into Sannyāsa. Śaṅkara agreed and stayed in the āśrama of Govindamuni. At the end of six months, Gauḍapāda came out. Govidamuni told him about Śaṅkara's arrival, his greatness and his desire to be initiated into Sannyāsa. Gauḍapāda asked Śaṅkara to be brought before him and remarked that he had come for establishing Advaita and refuting the Durmatas. Śaṅkara came and praised him and said that he knew him (i) to be born of Ganeśa or Gaṇaka, (ii) the son of Satyāśarman, (iii) reputed in his childhood by the name Siddheśa & c. Gauḍapāda, in return, said a few words about himself and his Guru, Śukamuni and then at the hands of Govindapāda initiated him, into Sannyāsa. He, however, personally taught him Vedānta philosophy as deduced by Vyāsa. He, then, gave him the ten Upaniṣads, Rudropaniṣad, Devi-Upaniṣad & c.-in all 32 upaniṣads. At the instance of Gauḍapāda, Govindamuni gave him Ratnagarbha-Ganeśa and Candramaulīśvara Linga. Thereafter, Gauḍapāda asked Śaṅkara to write, in his own presence, commentaries on Vedānta-Darśana, 10 Upaniṣads and the 'Cītā. Śaṅkara, did accordingly and on seeing those commentaries, Gauḍapāda was filled with the Highest Bliss. He then handed over to him his own Kārīkās on the Maṇḍukya-Upaniṣad and his own commentary on the Uttara-Gītā. He, then, asked Śaṅkara to go on a pilgrimage and to refute the Durmatas. He also asked him to worship the Ganesha and the Lingam regularly and then explained to him that the two had come down from Lord Śiva at Kailāsa through regular succession. Śaṅkara asked him why Śiva worshipped Himself and Gauḍapāda duly explained it.

Bāla Gopāla gives another interesting story. After Śaṅkara met Govindamuni on the banks of the Kāveri river, he received instructions to protect the limits (of Hindu Religion - (Maryādā-rakśaṇa) and a Yogapattaka and immediately thereafter, he went to Gokarṇa, where he got his first disciple in a Draviḍa named Sadānanda. Govindapāda is said to have given Śaṅkara his name. At Gokarṇa proper, Śaṅkara met one devotee of Śiva. He told the devotee that Śiva and Viṣṇu were the same principle and thereupon the devotee gave up his opposition to Viṣṇu. Śaṅkara then went to Badari for paying his respects to his Parama-Guru, Gauḍapāda.

When he came to Gauḍapāda, he found his feet covered by cloth. Śaṅkara requested him to allow him to salute his feet. Gauḍapāda told him that he was previously a human being as Gauḍasiśu but by practising knowledge, attained the status of a God. Śaṅkara was a mere man and hence did not deserve to touch his feet. Śaṅkara rejoined philosophically :

पादस्तवांशो जीवो हि तस्याज्ञानातु गूढता ॥ शं.महिमा - XXII : 77

Gauḍapāda was pleased and asked him to return to him after writing a commentary on the Viṣṇu-sahaśra-nama-hymn. Śaṅkara accordingly wrote it and then returned to Gauḍapāda, only to heighten his satisfaction. Gauḍapāda then told Śaṅkara that he was

none else than Lord Śiva Himself. Śankara then requested permission to write other commentaries and it was promptly given. Śaṅkara wrote a commentary on the Vedānta-Sūtras and other commentaries in due course. He was about to write a commentary on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, when suddenly Lord Nārāyaṇa appeared before him and requested him not to touch that work. Śrīdhara-Yati was to be born for writing the same. Śaṅkara consented to leave that Purāṇa alone and agreed not to quote from it also in his commentaries. He would quote from Viṣṇu Purāṇa only. The Lord was satisfied and both praised each other. Lord Nārāyaṇa conferred on Śaṅkara the title Bhagavat-pāda.

Mādhava, Sadānanda, Br. Saras. and Nīlakaṇṭha narrate a famous story about Śaṅkara at the hermitage of Govindamuni.

Sometime after Śaṅkara's initiation, Govinda was in meditation. It was rainy season. Heavy rains caused the waters of the Narmadā river to come surging up till they threatened to drown the hermitage and disturb the sage. The other inmates were afraid but Śaṅkara, seeing the danger, put his Kamaṇḍalu at the entrance of the āśrama and miraculously, all the water entered the Kamaṇḍalu and disappeared. According to Sadānanda, the waters never came so far as the hermitage but began to create a deafening noise and lest that noise should disturb his Guru's meditation, Śaṅkara placed the Kamaṇḍalu in the river water. The water entered the Kamaṇḍalu and the noise stopped.[22]

When, at the end of his meditation, Govinda came to know this, he was overwhelmed by Śaṅkara's greatness and told him a story that long back, he had once asked Veda-Vyāsa why he did not undertake an exposition of the true contents of his Vedānta-Sūtras, which were then misinterpreted by many people. Vyāsa told him that in course of time, Govinda himself would get one disciple who would work this kamaṇḍalu-miracle and that he was to write these commentaries. Sadānanda adds that Lord Śiva had been asked a similar question by the Gods in their assembly and that he had promised to take birth for that purpose. Now that the incident had taken place, he recognised him as the person meant by Vyāsa. He, therefore, asked Śaṅkara to go to Kāśī and write the commentaries. Sadānanda further tells us that Govinda blessed him with a vision direct of Lord Śiva at Kāśī while Nīlakaṇṭha adds that Govinda asked him first to take orders from God Himself and then only to proceed to write. Nīlakaṇṭha also tells us that Śaṅkara was unwilling to leave him, who was his father, mother and all but Govinda stressed and impressed upon him the importance of doing Guru's bidding.

22. According to Br. Saras., the incident took place before Śaṅkara saw Gauḍapāda and was duly initiated. The waters also were of the river Ganges. When they began to surge and threatened to drown the various hermits in the vicinity, the hermits went to Govinda and requested his permission to go to Gauḍapāda and wake him up, to check the water. Śaṅkara heard their conversation and placed an earthern pot (mṛdghaṭa) in the river-stream. When the water entered the pot and Govinda came to know about it, he told the hermits that Lord Siva, Himself had come for their protection in the form of Śaṅkara and गोविन्दपादयोगीन्द्रो बहु मेने च शङ्करम् ॥ बृ.शं.वि. Ch. XIII.

As against this, Govindanatha says that Śaṅkara desired to go on a pilgrimage and asked Govinda's permission. Govinda told him that being in Guru's presence was all-in-all for the disciple and no separate pilgrimage was needed. Śaṅkara, however, insisted and ultimately, the Guru yielded. Govinda gave him detailed instructions regarding behaviour during the pilgrimage and then Śaṅkara started. In course of time, he came to Badarikāśrama, where he wrote the commentaries. Vyāsācala also tells us that Śaṅkara, left the hermitage of Govindamuni with a view to pilgrimage but he had already written the commentaries.

Śaṅkara-Gauḍapāda meeting is described by Citsukha, Cidvilāsa and Br. Saras., on the one hand and Mādhava, Sadānanda and Nīlakaṇṭha on the other. The versions of the first three, who time it just after Śaṅkara-Govinda meeting, has already been described. The other three place it at the end of Śaṅkara's life. One day, during Śaṅkara's stay on the banks of the Gaṅgēs, Gauḍapāda was seen coming from a distance (or descending from air, as Sadānanda has put it).[23] Śaṅkara saluted him and praised him, who asked him whether he had learnt everything from Govinda, and whether he had realised the Highest Principle & c. Śaṅkara answered him modestly and then Gauḍapāda expressed to him a desire to see his commentary on his Kārikās on the Māṇḍukya-Up., and also on Vedānta-Sūtras. He had come for that purpose. Śaṅkara then read out to him all his commentaries (Sadānanda), particularly the one on the Kārikās, and being very much pleased with them, Gauḍapāda offered him a boon. Śaṅkara had no desire left but just to respect his word, requested that his mind should remain steady in meditation on Brahman. Gauḍapāda granted it and disappeared.

Śaṅkara-Vyāsa (Bādarāyaṇa) meeting is described by all the later biographers without exception. The points of difference, however, are many and notworthy too.

Place

According to Vyāsācala, Govinda Natha, Rāja. D., G.V. Karya and Br. Saras., the meeting took place at Badari or Badarikāśrama in the Himālayas while according to Anantanandagiri, Cidvilāsa, Tiru. D., Mādhava, Sadānanda, Parameśvara, Nīlakaṇṭha and Vallīsahāya, it took place at Kāśī on the banks of the Maṇikarṇikā river.

Time

Similarly, according to Vyā., G. Nātha, Tiru. D., Rāja. D., Mādhava, Sadā., Parameśvara, Nīla., the meeting took place after Śaṅkara had written his commentaries. Mād. says that Sanandana had also joined him as his first disciple. Other biographers like Anantā., Cid., Br. Saras. and Vallīsahāya describe the meeting before Śaṅkara's encounter with Bhaṭṭapāda but decidedly after his (i.e.Śaṅkara's) mother's death, which they place just after Guru's grace-bestowal. Cid. tells us that the meeting took place in the presence of the Kāśī king.

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23. Vide his शाङ्करदिग्विजयसार - XVI : 23.
गौडपादामिधं व्योम्नीवतरन्तं ददर्श सः ।

The meeting Proper

The meeting also is variously described. It is indeed difficult to point out all the minute difference in the different versions, which will have to be given individually.

According to Anantā., Vyā., Cid., Mād., Sadā. Param., Br. Saras., Nīla., and Vallī., sage Vyāsa came disguised as an old Brahmin. Śaṅkara was expounding his commentary on the Br. Sūtras to his dissciples, on the banks of the Maṇikarṇikā river. Vyāsa had heard about that commentary and was desirous of seeing it and hence had come there so disguised. Cid., says that Vyāsa had once come to that river for bath and saw Śaṅkara expounding something to his disciples. Then he put on the disguise of an old brahmin and approaching the students, asked them who their teacher was, who they were and what was the subject being taught to them. Padmapāda came forward to tell him that Śaṅkara, their Guru, who was indeed Lord Śiva Himself, was explaining to them, his disciples, his own commentary on the Br. Sūtras. The old brahmin then challenged Śaṅkara to a discussion and Śaṅkara accepted the challenge. According to some, Śaṅkara most humbly and respectfully offered to explain as best as he could while some say that Śaṅkara counter-challenged him to ask him anything in which he i.e. Vyāsa claimed proficiency.[24] And generally, the two fell to a discussion on the interpretation of Br. Sūtra 3:1:1 - 'तदन्तरप्रतिपत्तौ'. Different biographers give the discussion at different lengths, Anantā. and Sadā. being much longer than Mād. and Nīla. Sadā. and Nīla. tell us sthat it went on for eight days while Br. Saras. says that the old Brahmin interpreted differently many Sutras and continued a Vitaṇḍa-vāda.[25] According to Mād., Sadā. and Nīla., at the end of it all, Vyāsa became pleased with Śaṅkara, whom he praised as Lord Śiva born for the uplift of the world. Śaṅkara praised and saluted him in return. According to Mād., Nīla. & c., Śaṅkara expressed to him a desire to end his life in the Ganges but Vyāsa said that his philosophy was yet in its stage of infancy and required his protection. He, therefore, asked Śaṅkara to stay on and propagate his philosophy and overcome opponents like the Mimaṁsakas. For that purpose, Vyāsa granted him an extension of his life by sixteen years. Śaṅkara bowed acquiescence and Vyāsa vanished from sight.

Anantānandagiri, Cidvilāsa and Br. Saras. give a very quaintly different version. When Śaṅkara saw that the old brahmin would not stop, he asked Padmapāda to stop the old man

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24. Read :
यस्मिंस्तु तव पाण्डित्यं वर्तते द्विजसत्तम ।
तदेव पृच्छ विप्रेन्द्र वयं ब्रूमस्तदेव च ॥ बृ.शं.वि. - Ch. XVI.
Cidvilāsa says much the same thing :
तवाऽस्ति यस्मिन् प्रतिभा समग्रा सूत्रे च तस्मिन् परिपृच्छ विद्वन् ।
तत्रैव वक्ष्यामि विनिश्चितार्थानलं विलम्बेन किमत्र चित्रम् ॥ शं.वि.वि. - XIII : 30.

25. Read :
एवं बहूनां सूत्राणां भिन्नार्थं प्राह स द्विजः ।
चक्रे वितण्डावादं तु व्यासो ब्राह्मणरूपतः ॥ बृ.शं.वि.

and turn him out of his presence. At this stage, Padmaapāda uttered the words repeated by many biographers - viz. "Śaṅkara ia Lord Śaṅkara, Vyāsa is Lord Nārāyaṇa Himself. What can I, a poor servant, do when the two fall to a discuession?"[26] In Sadānanda's work, this stanza is altogether out of place. At these words, Śaṅkara realised his mistske and begged Vyāsa to forgive him, which the latter did readily. Then Vyāsa asked him to propagate his philosophy while Śaṅkara told him that his life's career, as originally intended, had come to an end. Then Vyāsa remembered Brahmā, who appeared and on being requested to extend Śaṅkara's life, said that he was Lord Śiva Incarnate and could stay on earth as long as he pleased. It was then decided that he was to stay for another sixteen years for the propagation of his philosophy and then to go back to Kailāsa.

Br. Saras. tells us that at the end of a long discussion on various Sūtras, Vyāsa said that he was polluted by Śaṅkara's sight and required a dip in the Ganges. Padmapāda, who was asked to turn him out, approached him for the purpose but Vyāsa disclosed himself and then both praise each other. Vyāsa then found that Śaṅkara was suffering from piles and remembered Brahmā, who appeared before him. He told Brahmā that the refutation work was still undone and for that purpose, Śaṅkara was required to be free from the disease. He, therefore, requested him to remove his disease and grant him long life. Brahmā cured Śaṅkara and said he would be able to retain the body as long as he liked. He did not mention any specific period of extension.

According to Vallisahāya also, Vyāsa came in the form of an old brahmin but just when Śaṅkara was wondering whether he was Vyāsa or Lord Nārāyaṇa Himself, Vyāsa disclosed himself. Vallī. describes no discussion between the two. The extension of Śaṅkara's life is effected by Brahmā at the instance of Vyāsa. Then, both these latter figures disappear.

According to Vyāsācala, Govinds-nātha, Tiru. D., Rāja. D. and G.V.K., Vyāsa came in his own form, with the object of seeing Śaṅkara's commentary. on the Br. Sūtras, about which he had heared. Śaṅkara handed it over to him and after going through it, Vyāsa expressed satisfaction. He asked Śaṅkara to propagate his philosophy and for that purpose, himself granted him an extension of sixteen years of life. Govindanātha does not refer to any extension also.

Even a cursory glance at the accounts of the various biographers is enough to show that it is only Citsukha who gives a natural and tolerably believable story, except Śaṅkara's encounter with Lord Śiva as Dakśiṇamurti on mount Kailasa. Cid.'s account also is far more natural but only in regard to Govinda-Śaṅkara meeting. Considering the other versions of this event, that Śaṅkara should declare himself to the Guru (i.e. Govinda Muni) at the very beginning that he was the Ultimate Reality, different from the elements and so on, is on the face of it, so unnatural and most unworthy of and unbecoming in a true disciple, particularly like Śaṅkara. That certainly is not the way a disciple talks with his Guru; even after he attains Guru's position, much less at the beginning of his discipleship.

A disciple of Śaṅkara's type is the very picture of humility and restrained speech whereas the biographers have presented him just in the opposite light. If he really was what he stated, why, at all, did he come in search of a Guru? Mādhava and Sadānanda have tried to answer this by saying that he wanted to be initiated only for purposes of Saṁpradāya (सम्प्रदाय संरक्षण) and yet there is no relief to his character. The tenor of his speech remains unjustified. Citsukh's version exhibits a true disciple in Śaṅkara. The story of the Kamaṇḍalu is as much believable as the above versions. It is intended only to exalt Sankara's greatness to the point of divinity and is not given by any one except the very doubtful biographers like Br. Saras. Mādhava and Mād.'s followers, Sadānanda and Nīlakaṇṭha. This story, therefore, as also the versions of Br. Saras. and Bāla Gopāla, of Śaṅkara Gauḍapāda meeting can be rejected without further consideration.

Regarding Śaṅkara-Gauḍapāda meeting, once more, Citsukha's version is more natural, if it can be believed in the main. In the other biographers, Gauḍapāda's questioning of Śaṅkara is very artificial. Their attitude seems to be that somehow, Gauḍapāda had to be made to see and bless Śaṅkara.

As to the authenticity of the meeting of Śaṅkara and Gauḍapada, it may be said that considering that Gauḍapāda was the direct Guru of Govindamuni and also that people then and particularly yogins, lived much longer than now, it may not be altogether impossible that the two had met. While discussing Śaṅkara's date, it has been shown that even modern scholars believe that Śaṅkara could not have been removed from Gauḍapāda by 250 or 300 years. It, therefore, seems just possible that Gauḍapāda was living in Śaṅkara's time, Śaṅkara met him and also perhaps studied under him for some time, as described by Citsukha.

The story of Śaṅkara-Vyāsa meeting, if at all true, has been severely mishandled, even to the point of depicting Śaṅkara most outrageously. Anantānandagiri is the worst offender in this respect while Mādhava and his group have shown better discretion. At the most, the story can be said to be a very corrupt representa-tion of Citsukha's version of the meeting of Śaṅkara and Vyāsa. At Kāñcī, there are pillar and wall carvings which point to some kind of close connection between Vyāsa and Śaṅkara. That the two had met is thte maximum meaning of the story and that also is open to serious doubt so long as Śaṅkara belongs to a post-Christian period. The part of the story relating to the extension of Śaṅkara's life is altogether meaningless and can be rejected forthwith.

Two more stories deserve to be noted. The first is the story of Śaṅkara's encounter with Lord Śiva in the form of a Cāṇḍāla and is given by Mād. and Nīla. only.

According to these biographers, one day after Śaṅkara had accepted Sanandana as

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26. The stanza is famous and deserve to be quoted:
शङ्करः शङ्कर साक्षाद्व्यासो नारायणः स्वयम् ।
द्वयोर्विवादे सम्प्राप्ते किङ्करः किं करोम्यहम् ॥ चिद्वि. शं.वि.वि. XIV : 32

his first disciple, he was going to the Maṇikarṇikā river for bath, when he came across a Śvapāka (or a Caṇḍāla) with four fierce dogs. As they were right in the middle of his path, Śaṅkara asked the Śvap̄ka to step aside. The Śvapāka questioned the wisdom of Śaṅkara's discrimination between a Brahmin and a Caṇḍāla and at the same time of holding that everything was Brahman and nothing else. Śaṅkara said that he did realise the point but as an embodied being, he thought it necessary to observe the rules of Varṇāśrama. This is the gist of their exchanges. The Śvapāka then disappeared and Lord Viśvanātha or Visveśvara manifested Himself. Śaṅkara paid his obeisance to Him and Lord Śiva asked Śaṅkara to write a commentary on the Br.Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa and to propagate Advaita philosophy. With these words, He disappeared.

The second story relates to Lord Śiva declaring Advaita philosophy to be the true philosophy. Only four biographers, viz., Anantā., Cid., Br. Saras., and Vallī. narrate the same. According to all these four, it occurred just at the commencement of Śaṅkara's life's mission, after initiation by Govinda but before Śaṅkara had performed any major feat. According to Cid., it took place at Kāśī while according to Anant. and Vallī. it happened at Madhyārjuna in the south. The story runs as follows :

One day, Śaṅkara went to the temple (of Viśveśvara at Kāśī or of Madhyārjunanātha in the south) for Darśana after taking a bath. Standing before the deity, Śaṅkara with folded hands requested God to declare which of the two-Advaita and Dvaita - was true. Lord Śiva thereupon manifested Himself through the Liṅgaṁ and declared thrice that Advaita was true (सत्यमद्वैतम्) and then disappeared in the Liṅgaṁ. According to Cid., Lord Siva seems to have been accompanied by his consort also.

Both the stories smack of Śaivism and are of a late origin. They are given by very few biographers and were probably inserted to invest Śaṅkara's philosophy with divine sanction. Once more, they seem to be corrupt relice of Citsukha's story of Lord Śiva Himself as Dakśināmurti placing His own Divine Sanction behind Śaṅkara and his Advaita philosophy, which he is asked to propagate on earth. It may be remarked that the whole story of Sankara's initiation, training in Vedanta & c. is very highly but equally distantlly reminiscent of Citsukha's version thereof, which, however, has been misrepresented in the extreme even to the point of absurdity.

His education and initiation complete, Śaṅkara was now ready and willing to fulfil his Guru's mandate regarding propagation of his Advaita philosophy. Before, however, he could do so, he was called away by some personal obligations which he had to fulfil first. The next phase of his life will be discussed in a new chapter.

Chapter - VIII

ĀRYĀṀBA'S DEATH, GOVINDAMUNI'S SAMADHI AND OTHER EVENTS

As done in the last chapter, the version of Citsukha will be given first and then the versions of the other biographers will be given and discussed comparatively.

Cit.'s version

Just as Śaṅkara made ready with his first disciple Citsukha (i.e. the biographer himself) to go to Benares, Agniśarman, a relative of Śaṅkara came with bags of gold and jewels from his mother at Kālaṭī and handing them over to Śaṅkara, told him that his mother was seriously ill and desired to see him. This upset his plans and though he had resigned his all, his love and devotion towards his mother made him long to see her at once. He dedicated all the gold and the gems to Lord Nārāyaṇa, for reconstructing and repairing the ancient temple of Viṣṇu at Badarikāśrama and setting up therein, according to Vedic rites, the sacred image of Nārāyaṇa he had got in the river Alakananda.[1] As soon as the consecration of the image was over, Śaṅkara placed Agniśarman in charge of the temple and then with Citsukha, came to Kālaṭī.[2] It is said that just below the shrine of Badarinatha, Śaṅkara created a tank of hot water (called Śaṅkarapuṣkaraṇi) close to the hermitage of his Guru Govindamuni, to enable him to bathe in hot water every day in that extremely severe cold weather, in the last days of his mundane existence.

Speeding through hills and forests, Śaṅkara came home, with his disciple Citsukha. His mother had become extremely weak but was still able to walk about in the house. She was greatly delighted to see Śaṅkara, who too, overjoyed to see her, touched her feet in reverence and embraced her with all the filial affection and devotion. One day, being very ill, she desired her son, whose fame had already reached her ears, to discourse to her on

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1. Citsukha tells us that the sacred image of Lord Nārāyana which Śaṅkara set up in the shrine at Badarinatha, newly constructed by him, was brought by him from the bottom of the Alkanandā river by diving therein ten times.

2. Even to this day, the God is daily provided with food-offering (Naivedya) in gold and silver vessels said to have been endowed to the temple by Śaṅkara himself. The chief priest has always been a Malayalam brahmin, claiming descent from Agniśarman, a relation of Śaṅkara.

things that would bring her eternal peace. Śaṅkara therefore, explained to her, in the simplest language and manner possible, his philosophy through Tattva-bodha, which he composed for the purpose. That also, however, was too much for her and she asked him to sing a hymn in praise of Lord Kṛṣṇa, the favourite deity of the place. Śaṅkara, accordingly, composed the beautiful Kṛṣṇāṣṭaka. At the end of it, Lord Kṛṣṇa, at the instance of Śaṅkara, appeared in human form which the mother was overjoyed to behold. She felt extremely happy, blessed her son in his grand undertaking and gave up her body like a yogin.

Then, in keeping with his promise at the time of renouncing, Śaṅkara performed all the funeral rites of his mother, by preparing a funeral pyre in the backyard of his own house, just in accordance with an ancient and immemorial custom of Keraliya brahmins. He placed his mother's body on the pyre and himself set fire to it. At the time of setting fire, he composed a small hymn of five stanzas, called Mātṛ-stuti (praise of the mother), which is replete with very delicate filial feeling.[3] Śaṅkara respected the memory of his mother by performing her last rites himself.

In the meantime, a young Brahmin called Sanandana[4] arrived at Kālaṭi and told Śaṅkara that Govindamuni had, due to serious illness, left the Badarikāśrama and come down to Amarakānta and wanted to see Śaṅkara before his death.

In the course of one month, Śaṅkara with Citsukha and Sanandana arrived at the hermitage of Govindamuni on the Banks of the Narmadā. There, Śaṅkara found his Guru on death-bed, surrounded by his son Bhartṛhari and other disciples, watching his last

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3. The first stanza runs thus : आस्तां तावदियं प्रसूतिसमये दुर्वारशूलव्यथा ।
नैरुच्ये तनुशोषणं मलमयी शय्या च सांवत्सरी ॥
पकस्याऽपि न गर्भभारभरणक्लेशस्य यस्याः क्षमो ।
दातुं निष्कृतिमुन्नतोऽपि तनयस्तस्यै जनन्यै नमः ॥

4. According to both Citsukha and Ānandagiri, there lived at Ahobila, famous for the temple of Laxmi-Nṛsim%Jha, Mādhava and Laxmi, a pious brahmin pair, belonging to a learned and wealthy family. A son, who was named Sanandana, was born to this couple by the grace of Lord Nṛsiṁha and he turned out to be a very intelligent child. His parents died when he was very young and he was brought up by his maternal uncle, Divākarādhvarin, a disciple of the famous Mimāṁsaka, Prabhākarācārya. Sanandana soon became proficient in secular and Vedic literature and was married against his wish to the maternal uncle's daughter. He could not agree with his maternal uncle and found his life with the new girl most unhappy. He soon quarrelled with his uncle, abandoned his house and wealth and went out in search of a spiritual preceptor. While at Prayāga, he was utterly dissatisfied with Prabhākara's teachings. Then God Nṛsimha appeared to him in a dream and directed him to Śaṅkara. He, therefore, went to Badarikāśrama, only to learn to his great disappointment that he had gone to see his mother at Kālaṭi. He found Govindamuni just starting with his disciples to come down to his hermitage on the banks of the Narmadā-river. He learnt that Govindamuni was very ill and followed him upto Amarakānta, where he took leave of him and came all alone to Kālaṭi to see Śaṅkara. Śaṅkara was pleased with his account, accepted him as his disciple and promised to teach him his commentary on Vedanta philosophy as also to initiate him into the order of Sannyāsins, after he went back to Govindamuni, whom he was anxious to see first.

moments and he was deeply moved at the sight of his Guru, who had already lost his consciousness. It was Kārtika-Pūrṇimā of 2606 Yudh. Śaka i.e.495 B.C. Immediately, however, Govindamuni heard Śaṅkara's voice, he recovered consciousness, rose up from his bed like a strong and a healthy man and embraced Śaṅkara with his arms. He then exhorted Śaṅkara to undertake Digvijaya throughout India to establish Advaita philosophy and ordered his own disciples to follow Śaṅkara as their master. He, then, imparted to him the last lesson on the duties of a Sannyāsin (the lesson was called तुरीयाश्रमधर्मोपदेश), blessed Śaṅkara again, ensuring him success in his undertaking and quietly passed away, with Oṁ as the last syllable on this tips.[5]

When Emperor Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjain heard of his father's death, he repaired to the place where the body had been interred by the disciples and in memory of his sacred name and the last word Oṁ uttered by him, caused the great temple of Oṁkāranātha to be erected over the Samādhi. Even to this day, the place is held sacred and on every Kārtika-Pūrṇimā, is held in memory of Govindamuni's passing away, a great festival and the sanctify of the river Narmadā on that particular day is considered above that of any other river.

Immediately after Govindamuni's passing away, Sanandana requested Śaṅkara for initiating as previously promised. Śaṅkara accordingly performed the initiation and taught him the essence of philosophy by composing Ātmabodha for him and also for Govinda.'s disciples who were now his own.[6] Sanandana wrote a commentary called Vedāntasāra on this Ātmabodha. Sanandana was thus his second disciple. From this place, Śaṅkara started on his triumphant tour.

With Citsukha, Sanandana and other disciples of Govindamuni, Śaṅkara first came to Prayāga. It was Māghī Amāvāsyā day - the day of Māgha-mela. On that day, considered very sacred for the Pitṛs, Śaṅkara, with his disciples, bathed at Triveṇi and gave offerings to his mother and Guru, that they may attain eternal happiness. Then, visiting some sacred spots about the place, he came to Bhāradvāja's āśrama. At this time, he composed (1) प्रयागाष्टक (2) यमुनाष्टक (3) माधवाष्टक (4) लक्ष्मीनृसिंहपञ्चरत्न and (5) वेदसारशिवस्तोत्र. At the āśrama,

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5. Read the following stanzas from Citsukha :-
इत्थं प्रशास्य प्रवयाः स्वशिष्यान् शङ्करानुगान् ।
नियोज्य शङ्कराचार्यमद्वैतस्थापने गुरुः ॥
सोऽहमस्मीति निश्चित्य विसृज्येतरकाङक्षितान् ।
ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म ध्यायन्नन्तः परं शिवम् ॥
शास्त्रश्रुत्यङ्गनेत्राब्दे युधिष्ठिरशकस्य वै ।
प्लवङ्गे कार्तिके मासि पूर्णिमायां गुरोर्दिने ॥
श्रीमद्गौडपदाचार्यशिष्यो योगविदां वरः ।
गोविन्दभगवत्पादः सिद्धिं सम्प्राप संयमी ॥ बृ.शं.वि. - Ch. 52.

6. According to Ānandagiri also, Sanandana's initiation took place on the banks of the Narmada river, where Govindamuni attained final beatitude.

Śaṅkara began to propound his commentaries and soon distinguished himself in dialectics and philosophy. His fame as a Vendāntic teacher spread and disciples began to come from all parts of India. In the early morning, he went with his disciples to Triveṇi for bath. After his morning duties, he went back to the āśrama and propounded his commentaries. In the afternoon, he held discussions with his disciples, answered their questions and cleared their doubts.

One day, Śaṅkara, with his disciples, went to see the Akṣaya-Vaṭa, where he saw a young brahmin, trying to end his life. He was completely affected by leprosy. His body was horribly white and his eyes had lost all power of sight. He looked like an owl and could not face the sun. When he saw Śaṅkara, he cried to him for mercy and protection. Śaṅkara was moved by his sight and by simply touching him, cured him completely. He turned into a charming young man and people exclaimed Udaṅka i.e. free (Ud-Udgata) from marks (aṅka) of leprosy. He then requested Śaṅkara to initiate him into the mysteries of Vedānta and to make him his disciple. Śaṅkara found him qualified and by one single stanza[7] made him a self-reaalised person. The stanza is known as एकश्लोकी. Śaṅkara initiated him into Sannyāsa and he became Śaṅkara's disciple.

Another day, Śaṅkara had been to Pratiṣṭhāna puri (modern Zhānśi) where lived the famous Mīmāṁsaka, Prabhākarācārya. According to him, performance of Karmas, laid down by the scriptures i.e. performance of sacrifices, was the sole end of human life and that there was no other deity of any kind, superior to Karmas. Hearing of Śaṅkara's arrival, he went to see him and to convert him to his own faith but Śaṅkara calmly argued with him and in the space of a few hours, convinced him about the superiority of spiritual knowledge and also that the performance of Karmas according to scriptures brought about purification of the mind, which gave rise to Parā-Bhakti which in its turn resulted in the knowledge of the unity of the self and Brahman and that alone was the way to liberation. With Prabhākara's conversion, the entire agrahāra[8] was converted to Śaṅkara's faith.

Prabhākara had heard of Udaṅka's story and now fell at Śaṅkara's feet, requesting him to cure his own son, Prithvidhara (or Pṛthvidhava, as Ānandagiri calls him). He had

7. The Stanza runs thus :
किं ज्योतिस्तव भानुमानहनि मे रात्रौ प्रदीपादिकम् ।
स्यादेवं रविदीपदर्शनविधौ किं ज्योतिराख्याहि मे ॥
चक्षुस्तस्य निमीलनादिसमये किं धीः धियो दर्शने ।
किंस्तत्राहमतो भवान् परमकं ज्योतिस्तदस्मि प्रभो ॥
This stanza occurs with slight variations as stanza 95 of Śaṅkara's another minor work Śataślokī).

8. Pratiṣṭhānapuri had lost its name and continued as a famous agrahāra by name Srīvallī until it was destroyed by a conflagration, which left it in ruins, which subsequently came to be called Jhansi or the burnt village.

suddenly stopped talking from his fifth year. He would neither eat nor play. Prabhākara thought that he was possessed by some ghost and used some māntrikas but without success. When the boy was brought by Prabhākara to him, Śaṅkara looked at him once and at once realised that he was a born Siddha. Śaṅkara placed his hand on his head and asked him who he was. To the surprise of all assembled there, the boy burst out into a song of 12 stanzas, which have become immortal in Sanskrit literature as Hastāmalaka-stotra. It begins with the following stanza :

निमित्तं मनश्चक्षुरादिप्रवृतौ निरस्ताखिलोपाधिराकाशकल्पः ।
रविर्लोकचेष्टानिमित्तं यथा यः स नित्योपलब्धिस्वरूपोऽहमात्मा ॥

The boy then requested Śaṅkara to initiate him into Sannyāsa. Śaṅkara did so and named him Hastāmalaka.

Prabhākara, who was witnessing all this, was astounded at the transformation of his son and now requested Śaṅkara to make him also (i.e. Prabhākara himself) a Sannyasin, and to initiate him into the mysteries of the Vedānta philosophy. Śaṅkara composed "तत्त्वोपदेश" and taught it to Prabhākara, who renounced the world and became a Sannyāsin. After this conversion, Prabhākara felt ashamed of his own works of Pūrva-mimāṁsa and by his own hand, destroyed them all. Before conversion, he was considered the greatest Guru and was called Mahāmahopadhyāya Prabhākara Bhattācārya and his school of Purva-mimāṁsā was called Gurumata. After his conversion, only one disciple of his, called Śalīkanātha, stuck to the Gurumata and wrotte a work called प्रकरणपञ्चिका wherein he acknowledged allegiance to his Guru, Prabhākara. Most naturally, Prabhākara's conversion created a sensation and Śaṅkara went back to the āśrama, with his old and now these two new disciples.

Yet another day, as Śaṅkara was going to Kauśāṁbī, he saw a pair of old brahmin parents mourning over their dead son, kept before them. Śaṅkara felt pity for them and wished to remove their misery. At that time, a heavenly voice said that it was useless to have compassion if it could not resolve misery. Śaṅkara replied that God alone could show such fruitful compassion and if He but willed, the boy would rise. To the pleasant astonishment of the parents, the boy rose as if from slumber and the parents became full of joy. All the people felt happy and the whole city of Kauśāṁbi was a scene of bliss.

The next incident is the famous Śaṅkara-Kumārila meeting. Before dealing with it, it would better to state and discuss the versions of the later biographers in respect of the incidents described in the foregoing pages according to Citsukha. The incidents are now better dealt with individually.

The story of the Nārāyaṇa mandir is given by two biographers only viz. Lakśmaṇa Śāstrin (i.e. G.V.Kāvya) and Bāla Gopala Yati.

According to G.V.Kāvya, after creating the Kāmākśi-temple at Kāncī, Śaṅkara went to Badarivana and stayed there for some days. One night, he saw Hari in a dream. Hari asked him to take Him out of the water, where he was lying. Śaṅkara did so and worshipped that image of Nārāyaṇa.

Next, we are told that Śaṅkara asked Padmapāda to erect a temple to Nārāyaṇa and himself went to Kāśī. Padmapāda immediately built the temple.[9] Sometime thereafter, Śaṅkara and Padmapāda went to Badarivana and Śaṅkara worshipeped Him and laid down that only Keralites should worship that God.

According to Bāla Gopāla, after Śaṅkara had, at the instance of Lord Nārāyaṇa, agreed not to write a commentary on the Bhāgavata Pūrāṇa, he went to Prayāga. Nārāyaṇa then asked a disciple of Śaṅkara (his name is given as Sadānanda) to go to the royal assembly and ask the king to give him land for His worship. He also told him that the Keraliyas were very dear to Him and hence, they alone should worship Him. Sadānanda accordingly went to the king's palace but the king had gone out. The queen, however, welcomed him and gave him food. After taking food, Sadānanda desired to take rest and goiong straight to the king's bed-chamber, laid himself down on the royal bed. After some time, the king returned and on coming to know of Sadānanda's presence, welcomed him with folded hands. Sadānanda told him his requirement and the king immediately gave him land, on which Sadānanda built the temple to Nārāyana at Badarikāśrama. He also created a hot-water-lake by Daṇḍa-ghātā and established Nṛsimha and one mutt below. Thereafter, he came and joined Śaṅkara at Prayāga.

Prof. B. Upādhyāya says that when Śaṅkara went to Badarikāśrama, he found that the temple did not contain the image of Lord Nārāyaṇa. He asked the people about it; the worshippers told him that since the reign of the Chinese king, there had been many

9. We are told by G.V.K. that some time after this temple was built, Padmapāda went to the palace of the king for Bhiksā. The elder queen told him that the king was performing some Srāddha - ceremony that day and had gone out for bath. Padmapāa was very hungry and instead of going to a far-off river, went to a nearby mount and with a daṇḍa-ghāta on the earth, created two springs of pure water. He, then, finished his bath and returned to the palace and sat there. The queen was surprised and gave him food out of that prepared for the Srāddha-ceremony. In the meantime, the king returned with the invited brahmins and the younger wife told him what the elder queen had done with the food. Enraged at this, the king lifted his sword to kill Padmapāda, who assumed the form of Nṛsimha and stayed his hand. Then the king praised Nṛsimha, offered his palace for a temple to that God and the whole of his kingdom for his worship.

After Śaṅkara with Padmapāda, saw the Nārāyanā-gara at Badarivana, they came to the temple of Nṛsiṁha in the palace, when the king offered him rich worship. Śaṅkara also, pleased with him, built for him Śrīnagara, in the manner of Śrīcakra and appointed him crowned king. Once more, the king honoured Śaṅkara.

Bāla Gopāla has connected this king and the story with the building of the temple to Nārāyaṇa. Both these, however, can be dismissed as unfounded without further comments.

invasions and out of fear, they had thrown the image of Nārāyaṇa in the Nārada-kuṇḍa. Afterwards they tried hard to recover it but had failed. Śaṅkara immediatelly made ready to take it out of the kuṇḍa and though the people tried to dissuade him from his undertaking, Śaṅkara jumped into the Kuṇḍa. We are told that according to those people, beneath the surface-water of the kuṇḍa, there was an undercurrent of the river Alakanandā. Śaṅkara was able to get a piece of stone, which turned out to be an image of Viṣṇu, seated in a Padmāsana posture and with four arms. A corner piece of the stone was broken and thinking that Nārāyaṇa's image could not be broken like that, he threw it into the stream and took another dip. Again, he came by the same image and again he threw it away. Śaṅkara repeated his dip for the third time and now Śaṅkara was surprised. An aerial voice declared that in Kaliyuga, this image only ought to be worshipped. Hence, Śaṅkara took it out, consecrated it according to Vedic rites in the temple, worshipped it and finding that the brahmins there were not sufficiently versed in the Vedas, laid down that only the Keraliya brahmins should worship the image. The tradition continues to the present day.

The source of this story has not been given by the learned professor and the story cannot be traced to any of the extant Śaṅkara-Vijayas.

From these three accounts and that of Citsukha, which differ mutually, the following three common points emerge :

(1) That Śaṅkara was responsible for the renovation of the Badari-Nārāyaṇa temple, as it stands today.

(2) The image, to be seen there today, was taken out by Śaṅkara from the bottom of the river Alakanandā. How it went there, it is possible to understand on the hypothesis of Prof. Upādhyāya, though I cannot personally vouchsafe for its historicity.

(3) Keraliya Nambudiri brahmins have been in charge of the deity's worship right since the renovation by Śaṅkara down to the present day.

It is quite possible that the tradition regarding the wealth given by Śaṅkara to the temple, which (tradition) is upheld even today by the pujāri of the place is not without truth and the version of Citsukha, in that respect, is more trustworthy than those of others. It is to be noted that the professor's version makes no reference to this part of the story. Though this last portion of the story may not be believed, there should be no difficulty in accepting the first three points, though the story proper has not been given by more than three biographers, besides Citsukha.

Regarding the hot-water lake, even Ānandagiri in his Pr.Ś.V. tells us that Śaṅkara got it from Lord Śiva for the protection of his Guru or Desika (i.e. Govindamuni) troubled by the excessive cold of the Himalayan region.[10]

Out of the later biographers, only five viz., Citvilāsa, Mādhava, Sudānanda, G.V.K. and Nilakaṇṭha describe this incident. According to all of them, except C.V.K., it took place at the end of Śaṅkara's life and not at the beginning, as described by Citsukha and Ānandagiri.

According to Cid., Sadā. and G.V.K., the lake was created at Badarikāśrama (near Viṣṇu, according to Cit.) while according to Mād. and Nīla., it stood at Kodāra. According to Mād., Sadā. and C.V.K., it was created by Lord Śiva at the request of Śaṅkara G.V.K. says, Lord Śiva created it of his own accord. Cid., says it was Nārāyaṇa who did it while Nīla. refers to Kedāranatha. Again, according to Mād., Sadā. and Nīla, Śaṅkara got the lake from Lord Śiva for his disciples, who were being subjected to the extreme cold of the Himālayan regions.[11] According to Cid., Śaṅkara's body had become crippled on account of age and hence obtained it for himself from Lord Nārāyana. According to C.V.K., just when Śaṅkara had gone to Badarikāśrama with his Guru's permission for pilgrimage, Lord Śiva created it for Śaṅkara, to make it comfortable for him to bathe in the cold regions of the Himālayas.[12]

The lake is still reported to exist at Badarikāśrama just below the shrine of Badarinārāyaṇa and goes under the name Śaṅkara-Puṣkarīṇi. It seems possible that Śankara had something to do with it. In the midst of the confusion of the later biographers, it seems better and more reasonable to hold that Śaṅkara did it more for his old Guru rather than for his disciples or for himself. Naturally then, the incident must be placed much earlier i.e. before the passing away of Govindamuni and not just before the passing away of Śaṅkara himself. Citsukha, therefore appears more acceptable than the rest.

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10. The two stanzas, quoted as from Ānandagiri's Pr.Ś.V. by Suṣamā and Mr.T.N.S. Sāstri (Age of Śaṅkara) are as follows :

    तत्रातिशीसार्षितदेशिकल्प संरक्षणायातुलितप्रभावः ।
    तप्तोदकं प्रार्थयते स्म चन्द्रकलाधरात्तीर्थकरप्रथधानः ॥
    कर्मन्दिवृन्दपतिना गिरिशोऽर्थितः सन् सन्तप्तवारिलहरीं स्वपदारविन्दात् ।
    प्रावर्तयत्प्रथयतो यतिनाथकीर्तिं याऽद्याऽपि तत्र समुदश्चति तप्ततोया ॥ Deśika refers to Govindamuni.

11. Mādhava has used the two stanzas quoted in F.N.1 above as from Pr.Ś.V. of Ānand. with the only difference that the word 'Desikasya' in the first line of Anand.'s first stanza has been replaced by him by the word शिष्यसङ्घ (group or band of disciples). Perhaps that was his idea of epitomising that Pr.Ś.V.

12. Read : बालोऽप्ययं प्रतिदिनं सलिलेऽतिशीते ।
    स्नातीति जातकरुणो जगदीश एव ।
    उष्णीचकार सलिलं सुखमज्जनार्थम् ।
    अद्यापि तीर्थमिदमुष्णमुदाहरन्ति ॥ G.V.K. - II : 28.

Regarding the death of Śaṅkara's mother, there seem to be two views among the later biographers, about the time of its happening. Thus, Rāja.D., Mādhava, Sādā., G.V.K. and Nīlakaṇṭha place it after Maṇḍaṇa's defeat by Śaṅkara, just after Padmapāda leaves him for pilgrimage. Tiru D., Parameśvara and Bāla Gopāla are all incomplete but have not described the incident upto the Śaṅkara-Maṇḍaṇa discussion. Perhaps, they also follow the same view.

According to Vyāsācala, Govindanatha Cidvilāsa and Br. Saras., it takes place just after Śaṅkara's initiation was complete and he had finished his commentaries.

Anantānandagiri and Valli. are silent over the point.

All the biographers, describing this incident, have made use of Śaṅkara's promise to his mother to come and see her whenever she so desired. The biographers, therefore, tell us that Śaṅkara, by his yogic powers, came to know that his mother was on her death-bed and desired to see him. According to Mādhava and Sadā., he even said so to his followers and immediately resorting to the aerial path, came by the bed-side of his mother.

According to Vyā., Govinda and Br. Saras, Śaṅkara at that time, was at Badarikāśrama. Cidvilāsa places him at Kāśī. According to Rāja.D., he was at Prayāga, according to Mād., Sadā. and Nīlakaṇṭha at Sṛṅgagiri and according to G.V.K. at Rewa. All are agreed that Śaṅkara came all alone and by the aerial path and when he arrived at his place, he found his mother confined to bed. Nīlakaṇṭha adds that when Śaṅkara's mother saw him getting down from the air from a distance, she could not decide whether it was Lord Śiva or Lord Nārāyaṇa coming in the direction of her house.

On seeing her son, the mother was naturally very pleased and when Śaṅkara asked her what she desired him to do for her, she told him that she had no desire left, now that she was able to see him whole and healthy. He should only take her to a good destination in the next world. Śaṅkara then tried to expound to her his philosophy of formless reality but she frankly told him that with her failing strength, she was unable to comprehend or concentrate on that abstraction of philosophy and desired something tangible which she would easily grasp. Śaṅkara then thought of eulogising God in his Saguṇa form. Here, Vya., and Rāja.D., are the only biographers to say that Śaṅkara praised Viṣṇu or Mādhava and meditating on that form as described by Śaṅkara, the mother gave up her old and weak body. Govindanātha, Mād., Sadā., G.V.K. and Nīlakaṇṭha tell us that he first praised Lord Śiva. Madhava's commentator actually gives Śivabhujanga hymn at length. Then according to him (i.e.Mād.) Cid. and Sadā., attendants (gaṇas) of Śiva appear on the scene to take away Āryāmba to Śiva's abode. She, however, expresses her unwillingness to go with them (or according to other biographers, she requests Śaṅkara to sing a hymns to Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa, whose devotee she had been throughout her life). Then Śaṅkara sings a hymn to Viṣṇu and meditating on his form, she gives up her mortal body. According to Cid., Mād., Sadā. and Nīlakaṇṭha, messsengers of Viṣṇu come with an aerial car to take

her away to the Viṣṇuloka and now in a celestial body, shes goes there by the path of light. Sadā, is the only biographer to tell us that the hymn which Śaṅkara sang was addressed to Lord Kṛṣna and he also gives it as it has been given by Citsukha. He then goes on to narrate that Lord Kṛṣna appeared before the mother and Śaṅkara again praised him. Then the Lord told Śaṅkara that his mother would go with Him in his aerial car to His own abode.[13] He also praised Śaṅkara's various commentaries and said that they would become widely known among the people. Then the mother gave up her old body, entered a new divine or celestial body and saying to Śaṅkara that he had truly become a putra, went with Lord Kṛṣna in that aerial car to His abode. According to Br. Saras, when Śaṅkara saw his dying mother, he praised Paramā Śakti, who sent Jayā and Vijaya, with whom the mother went to Kailāsa in an aerial car.

According to Cid. and Br. Saras, Śaṅkara, seeing that his mother was dying, called the brahmins, whereas according to other biographers, he called his relatives only after she had actually passed away. All the biographers, however, unanimouslly tell us that seeing that Śaṅkara was about to perform her last rites, they refused to come, or even to give him the necessary fire for cremation. Śaṅkara was enraged and cursed them that thence-forward, they would be devoid of knowledge, outside the pale of Vedas, addicted to the company of Śūdra women and so on. Cid, and Br. Saras, say that Śaṅkara cursed them that if ever any Yati accepted Bhikśā from them, he would become patita (fallen).

When help was refused, Śaṅkara, according to Raja.D. and Guru V.K., sprinkled some drops of water from his Kamaṇḍalu over the dead body and thereby made it move over to a corner of the house, while according to others, he took it himself. Br. Saras. seems to suggest that Śaṅkara cut the body of his mother into parts before cremation for his curse enjoined on the brahmin similar cutting of all dead bodies.

Vyā., Govinda., Mād., Sadā., G.V.K. and Nīlakaṇṭha tell us that Śaṅkara collected dry sticks of wood and burnt the mother's body with the fire created from his right arm. According to Raja.D., the fire was mentally created by him.[14]

Govindanātha tells us that after setting fire to the body, Śaṅkara went round the pyre, muttering the mantra आस्तां तावदियं & c. (this is thet beginning of the Mātṛstava, referred to by Citsukha) and then fell prostrate before the fire. Br. Saras. says that after the mother went to Kailāsa in the aerial car, Śaṅkara praised the fire that burnt her body.[15] He

13. Read : इयं सती ते जननी सुभद्रा रता परेशे मयि वासुदेवे ।
प्रयातु मे धाम मया सहैव विभानमास्थ खगप्रधानम् ॥ शं.वि.सार - XVIII : 52.

14. Read : मनसा ज्वलिते हुताशने । शं. भ्यु.

15. The stanzas runs as follows : कालाग्निं हरमूर्तिमाद्यमनघं पाताललोके स्थितम् ।
शम्भोर्नेत्रसमुद्भवं प्रलयके लोकान्दहन्तं भजे ॥
त्वं मे मातृशरीरकं तु कदलीखण्डे तु संस्थापितम् ।
दग्ध्वा क्षिप्रमतीवन्मयसहितं भूतिस्वरूपं कुरु ॥.

suggests clearly that the body had been placed on pieces of Kaldti. Immediately, we are told, the body took fire and was reduced to ashes.

Just at this stanza, Rāja, D., Mād., Sadā., G.V.K. and Nīlakaṇṭha tell us that Rajeśekhara, the Kerala king came to know that Śaṅkara was in his state and hence came to see him. Śaṅkara asked him how his dramas were received by the literary world. He sorrowfully replied that through his negligence, all the dramas were burnt in a fire. Śaṅkara, then, dictated them all to the king from memory and the king, out of a sense of duty, asked Śaṅkara if he could do anything for him. Śaṅkara told him about the curse and asked him to enforce it in the State, to which the king readily agreed. The biographers tell us that down to their own day, the effects of the curse could be witnessed.

Those accounts of Āryāṁba's death, given by the later biographers, are so very different from the one given by Citsukha, who had accompanied Śaṅkara to his mother's house. The accounts also differ among themselves. The biographers do not seem to know at which stage of Śaṅkara's life his mother passed away or where Śaṅkara was just prior to it. They have to resort to Śaṅkara's yogic powers to make him divine the mother's condition, to go there by the aerial path and even to cremate her after her death. Compared with all these versions, Citsukha's narration strikes as being very human and natural.It is, indeed, in the fitness of things that Śaṅkara should praise Lord Kṛṣna only, whom his mother had worshipped all her liffe and neither Śiva nor Viṣṇu.

The story of the curse also seems equally unbelievable. One fails to understand why Śaṅkara, who spent his life-time, propagating respect for the scriptures even in matters of philosophy, should have flown into a rage because the people refused to help him on the ground that as a Sannyāsin, he had no right to perform the last rites of his mother according to scriptures. Rājaśekhara's historicity in the time of Śaṅkara has already been disproved and the story deserves no further consideration. It is inserted only to fortify the untenable story of the curse.

It is just possible that the Mādhvas, bitter enemies of Śaṅkara and his school, made capital out of a Sannyāsin performing the last rites of his mother. Maṇimanjari has described him as an illegitimate child, hated and haunted by his relatives as a heretic and as one who ultimately secured the aid of a local chief and introduced all the mal-practices now prevailing in Malabar. Keralotpatti followed suit and in addition to calling him a widow's son and making him responsible for the mal-practices, ascribed to him the task of sub-dividing the four main castes into 72 sects and of assigning to them as many different languages or dialects. The later biographers tried to answer these charges but in their attempt, worsened the confusion. Mr. Śāstrī tells us that there is no support either in Citsukha or in Ānandagiri for the view that Śaṅkara's performance of the funeral rites was objected to by his relatives on the ground of his being a Sannyāsin. There is also no reference, in either of these two biographers, to Śaṅkara's curse or to the help of a ruler to

enforce it and compelling the Keralites to burn the dead body in the compounds of their own house. On the contrary, the practice among the Malyali brahmins of burning their dead in a corner of their compound, is not only not looked down upon by Nambudiris but they regard it as a custom, most ancient and immemorial and sanctioned by Smṛtis.

Mr. Aiyer argues that if Sankara's mother had really been unchaste as represented by his opponents, he would not have shown to her such devotion by acting even against thet scriptures. The biographers, however, nowhere make any suggestion of her unchastity even remotely.

On the whole, Citsukha's version of the story appears to be more acceptable than any other.

After the last rites were over, Śaṅkara according to Vyā. and Govinda., went with Sanandana to Badarikāśrama direct while according to Cid. and Br. Saras., he collected the remains of his mother's body and with Sanandana, went to Prayāga where he immersed them in the Ganges and then went to Badarikaśrama. There he found Gauḍapāda and Govindamuni, to whom he paid his respects and reported everything that had happened. According to Mād. and Nīlakaṇṭha, he stayed in Kerala for some time, waiting for Padmapāda to join him, as it has been put by Madhava. Sadānanda, however, takes Śaṇkara immediately to Sṛṅgapurī while according to G.V.K., he kept wandering about in some nearby villages.

According to all these biographers, it is quite clear, Sanandana had already become a Sannyāsin-disciple if Śaṅkara. Their versions, however, in regard to him are different.

Anantānandagiri mentions Sanandana's intervention in Vyāsa-Śaṅkara meeting and seems to have believed that he came before the same. How he came to Śaṅkara is not described by Anant., Cid., Mād., Sadā., Parameśvara, Br. Saras. and Nīla., expressly describe how he came to Śaṅkara and become his disciple. Vyāsa - Śaṅkara meeting is described later. Vyā., Govinda., Rāja D., and G.V.K. tell us that he came after the meeting but before the mother's death. Br. Saras is the only person to tell us that he came after the mother's death and also after the passing away of Gauḍapāda. Govindanātha also places it after the mother's death. Vallīsahāya is silent over Sanandana incident.

According to Bāla Gopāla, after Śaṅkara received from Govindamuni the Yogapaṭṭaka and the name Śaṅkara, (according to B.G., was so named by Govindamuni), on his way to Gokarṇa, a Dramida-boy surrendered to him and Śaṅkara accepted him as his first disciple. His name, however, is given as Sadānanda[16] and not as Sanandana. The same disciple was responsible for the temple to Nārāyaṇa at Badarikāśrama.

Vyā., Govinda, Cid., Rāja. D. and G.V.K. introduce Sanandana at Badarikāśrama, Mādhava, Sadā., Parameśvara and Nīla., at Benaras and Br. Saras, at Prayāga.

16. Vide his शं. महिमा - XXII : 55.

Vya., Raja. D., Mād., Sadā., G.V.K., Parameśvara and Nīla., make Sanandana a native of some place in the Tanjore District on the bank of Kāveri-river in the land of the Colas. Govindanātha places him in Śrī Kuṇḍagrāma in Kerala while Cid. and Br. Saras., say that he belonged to Ahobala in the Kurnool district.

Some Biographers like Rāja. D. and Nīla., refer to him as some Sanandana while others like Vyā., Mād., G.V.K. call him some brahmin boy, who was named Sanandana by Śaṅkara. Govindanātha, Cid. and Br. Saras. state that his name was Viṣṇuśarman but while the latter two make him a son of Mādhava and Lakśmī (Br. Saras., mentions the mother's name as Suśīlā - Chapter XV), Govindanātha gives the father's name as Somaśraman. These three biographers tell us that on his onw statement, Sanandana was born by the grace of Lord Nṛsiṁha.

When he came to Śaṅkara, Sanandana had studied all the Vedas and other sciences but due to some reason, had attained acute Vairāgya and wanted to attain liberation. Cid. and Br. Saras., say that he was directed to Śaṅkara by Lord Nṛsiṁha appearing to him in a dream. Cid. says that he had left behind much wealth of his parents and come to Śaṅkara for guidance on the spiritual path. No other previous history about Sanandana is given by anyone except Govinda, whose account of him is as follows :

At the age of sixteen years, Sanandana had, on account of poverty, to perform many duties of a Vaiśya. Then he saw good days and stayed at home for some time but was once more seized with a desire to go out. He, therefore, took with him many elephants, horses, camels, bullocks and asses and with many places in view, entered a thick forest, when the Sun set on the western horizon. He took a bath in the jungle - river and his companions after a sumptuous meal, went to sleep. At night, a host of robbers came and took away all the beasts along with his wealth. He tried to wake up his companions but they could not be roused from their slumber and once more, he was left a beggar. This made him reflect upon this life and realised the utter futility of all human endeavour and man's helplessness before the decrees of fate. He, therefore, thought of giving up all worldly activity and try for liberation, for which he had now come to Śaṅkara.

All the biographers say that Śaṅkara found him fit for initiation which he duly performed. Nīla. adds that before actually initiating him, Śaṅkara asked him whether he was confident of successfully resisting all the inroads of sexual passion and only when he satisfied him on that account, he was duly initiating into Sannyāsa.

It clearly appears from these accounts that the later-day biographers reduced Viṣṇuśarman alias Citsukha and Sanandana to one person and called the latter Śaṅkara's first disciple, when, in fact, he was only the second. The accounts betray ignorance of particulars of Sanandana's life and together vaguely remind us of Citsukha's version, which once more, appears to be nearer the truth and hence more acceptable.

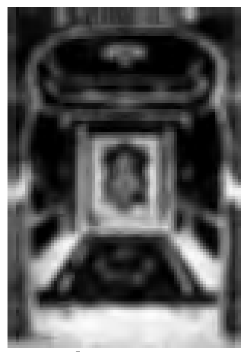
It is indeed surprising that not even one of the later biographers refers to the passing away of Govindamuni, when it has been so graphically described by Citsukha and particularly when it is so clearly connected with the story of Sanandana. Patanjali-carita is the only work besides that of Citsukha to mention it. In this connection, it is interesting to note that Mādhava who quotes verbatim eleven stanzas (Ch.VIII - stt. 18 and 19 and stanza 62 to 70) from this 'Pat. Cha. conveniently omits the next two stanzas, viz., 71 and 72, which describe the passing away.



Omkarnatha Mandir represented by the white gopura on the right

The temple of Oṁkaranātha, according to Citsukha is a memorial of Govindamuni while according to current tradition today, it is only a Jyotir-lingam - one of the twelve in India. I have purposely inspected the place and come to the conclusion that the spot is more like a samādhi and less like any lingam. In my opinion, therefore, Citsukha's version is entitled to better respect than the tradition. A photograph of the relevant spot inside the temple is exhibited on the left.

According to Vyā. and Cid., Śaṅkara went to Prayāga after his mother's death. According to Vyā., Śaṅkara, after his mother's death, went to Badari and from that place, came back to Prayāga while according to Cid., he went to Prayāga where he immersed the last remains of his mother's body, then went to Gayā and Kāśī and from the last palce, came back to Prayāga. According to Mādhava, Śaṅkara went to Prayāga after the disappearance of Vyāsa.



Omkarnath Pranava Lingam

At Prayāga, Śaṅkara started teaching his commentaries and made some disciples. Even sages from different sacred places began to come to him and attend his classes. Biographers, once more, vaguely agree with Citsukha.

None of the biographers mentions the incident relating to Udaṅka or Uttaṅka or how Śaṅkara came by him though many refer to him among those born in obedience to Lord Śiva's instructions to Gods to be born on earth to help Him.

Regarding the truth of the story of Uttaṅka, it may be said that considering the stage of development reached by the science of psychology today, the incident does not seem altogether impossible. Experiments in abnormal psychology have established that electrical currents issue forth from the fingers of palms and feet and these currents have also been photographed. It is also established that physical as well as psychological energy can be transfered by one person to the other in more ways than one. Curing leprosy, therefore, can be considered possible by transferring physical energy.

With regard to the story of Hastāmalaka, the main substance thereof, as narrated by the later biographers is the same but details differ.

According to Cid. and Br. Saras., it happened at Prayāga while G.V.K. mentions the place of its happening as a city called Śri Raupyapīṭha in the land of the Tulus, somewhere in the Kerala State. The rest of the biographers (except Anantanandagiri, Bāla Gopāla and Vallī., who do not describe it), agree in placing it at Sri Bali or Śri Vallī Agrahāra.

The timing also is variously given. According to Vyā., it happened just before Śaṅkara left for Kāśmir to ascend the Sarvajña Pīṭha. Cid. and Br. Saras. introduce the same immediatelly after the mother's death, and Govindanātha and Nīlakaṇṭha do so after the conversion of Maṇḍaṇa and the Bhairava incident. Rāja.D. places it after Śaṅkara was cured of the deadly (Bhagandara) disease, which was after Maṇḍaṇa's conversion and mother's death and Mād. and Sadā. say it took place after the mother's death but before the destruction of Padmapāda's commentary, and just after Maṇḍaṇa's defeat and conversion. G.V.K. places it after Padmapāda's work was burnt.

The name of Hastāmalaka's father is given as Divākaradhvarin (which, according to Citsukha was really the name of Sanandana's maternal uncle, who was a follower of Prabhākara-Mimāṁsaka) by Cid. and Br. Saras., as Prabhākara by Mādhava, Sadānanda and Nīlakaṇṭha, while he is simply referred to as some brahmin by Vyā., Govinda., Rāja.D. and G.V.K. It is to be noted that though biographers refer to him as a great scholar and a follower of the Pravṛti-mārga, no one says that he was the famous Mimāṁsaka Prabhākara or that he argued with Śaṅkara who converted him and made him a Sannyāsin. It is indeed a very natural expectation that even like Kumārila and Maṇḍaṇa, a stalwart Mīmāṁsaka like Prabhākara also had some tough exchanges with Śaṅkara, who, however, ultimately bagged him and made him his disciple and a Sannyāsin, Citsukha's account, therefore, in regard to him, though a little revealing, appears to be nonetheless true.

No biographer mentions the first name of Hastāmalaka, who is simply referred to as a boy or as the son of Prabhākara. Some[17] say that because of the knowledge like the āmalaka fruit in the hand, displayed by him, he automatically became known as Hastāmalaka, while the others[18] say that Śaṅkara took him from his father, initiated him into Sannyāsa and named him Hastāmalaka. It is quite possible that this second name had

17. i.e. Govindanātha and Sadānanda.

18. i.e. Vyā., Cid., Mād., G.V.K. and Br. Saras.

19. Read : नाहं मनुष्यो न च देजातिर्यक्षो न वै राक्षसकोभूतः ।
नाहं गृहस्थो न बटुर्यतीन्द्रो देहेन्द्रियादैर्न च संयुतोऽहम् ॥
कोशैश्च युक्तो न च कोशहीना नाहं च बद्धो न च मुक्तयोगी ।
नाहं द्विजोऽहं न च बाहुजातः ऊरूद्भवोऽहं न च पादजातः ॥.

something to do with the type of knowledge displayed by the boy, as suggested by some biographers.

Lastly, different biographers give different stanzas uttered by Hastāmalaka, though all of them refer to the number twelve. Thus, Cid., Br. Saras., and Nīla., give two stanzas[19] not found in the composition of twelve stanzas generally ascribed to Hastasmalaka and Vyā., and Mād. (the latter copying verbatim the former) gives still two different stanzas.[20] Sadānanda actually gives twelve stanzas.[21] altogether different from the known twelve and says that Hastāmalaka "described Reality by twelve stanzas, called Hastāmalaka and having this import."[22]

All the biographers tell us that after this utterance, which surprises all, Śaṅkara asked for the boy from his father, who also, convinced that the boy was a self-realised one and was fit to be in Śaṅkara's company only, handed him over to Śaṅkara and went back home. Vyā., and Mād., tell us that seeing that the boy had attained knowledge without any Upadeśa, Śaṅkara placed his hand on his head. Cit.'s version that he placed the hand first and then he uttered the famous stanzas is more natural than this one. Śaṅkara told his father that the boy knew everything including the Reality on account of his training in past births. Mād., later on, tells a story to explain this previous training.

According to him, when the question of writing Vārtikas on his commentary on Br. Sūtras came up and the name of Hastāmalaka was suggested by the disciples, Śaṅkara ruled it out. The disciples then asked him how he had realised himself without training or a preceptor. Śaṅkara told them that he was a born Siddha, the Siddhi having been attained in the past birth. During that existence, Hastāmalaka was a Siddha already and one day, he was sitting on the bank of the Yamunā river. Just then some brahmin girl came there with her two-year old chiod, whom she placed near him and asking him to look after it till she returned, she entered the water for bath. In the meantime, the child, moving slowly, fell dowm into the water and died. When the girl found it out, she placed the dead child in from of the Siddha and began to weep. He felt pity for her and relieve her grief, he gave up his own body and entered that of the child by means of yogic powers. This revived child was Hastāmalaka, a born Siddha.

According to this story, this brahmin girl ought to have been Prabhākar's wife but she has not been so described. For obvious reasons, the story can be dismissed forthwith.

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20. Read : नाहं जडः किन्तु जडः प्रयर्तते मत्संनिधानेन न संदिहे गुरो ।
षडूर्मिषड्भावविकारवर्जितं सुखैकतानं परमस्मि तत्पदम् ॥
ममैव भूयादनुभूतिरेषा मुमुक्षुवर्गस्य निरूप्य विद्वन् ।
पद्यैः परै द्वादशभिर्धभाषे चिदात्मतत्त्वं विधुतप्रश्रम् ॥

व्यासाचलीय - XX :22/23; माधवीय XII : 55 - 56.

21. Vide शां.दि.सार - XI:30 to 41 'न वर्णो विप्रायो. &c.
22. Read : इति भावार्थकैः श्लोकेमुनिर्द्वादशभिः स्वयम् ॥ स तत्त्वं वर्णयामास, हस्तामलकसंज्ञकम्

The last story relating to the revival of the dead boy is given by Rāja. D. Mād., Sadā. and Nīla., only. They described it just as is done by Citsukha. The only difference is that they describe the incident quite late, though in the vininity of the Hastāmalaka story. Mādhava and Sadā. place it on the way from Gokarṇa or Harihara to Mūkāmbika while Rāja. D. and Nīla., say that it took place just at thte doorstep of the Mūkāmbika temple. Rāja. D., Mād., and Nīla., show Śaṅkara also weeping along with thet parents and the child rising after the intervention of the aerial voice, Sadā., however, says that when the weeping couple prayed to Śaṅkara for mercy, he said that Nṛsiṁha was the protector of all. With these words, he remembered Nṛhari and no sooner did he utter the words than the boy rose up as from sleep. All the people were surprised at this power of Śaṅkara.

Chapter - IX

ŚAṄKARA'S ENCOUNTER WITH KUMĀRILA BHATTA

The story of Kumārila Bhatta can be divided into two main parts viz., (i) his training and his crusade against the Jains and Buddhists and (ii) the actual Śaṅkara-Kumārila meeting. Some information is available from Citsukha about the first only. The two, therefore, will be stated and discussed separately.

Citsukha's version

Sometime after the revival of the dead boy, early in the morning one day, just as Śaṅkara was resting with his disciples on the banks of the holy river Triveṇi, under the shade of Tamāla-tree, news was brought to him that the great Mimāṁsaka, Kumārila-Bhatta was about to commit himself to flames, in a secluded part of a village near Ruddhapur, probably one of the suburbs, attached to the city of Prayāga. Śaṅkara hastened to the spot but found him already lying on a funeral pyre, made up of heaps of chaff (Tuṣānala), surrounded by brahmins, chanting Vedic mantras, appropriate for a Vedic expiation, which Bhaṭṭa was bent upon carrying out at any cost. Śaṅkara must have asked him the cause of his self-immolation and he gave Śaṅkara the following account.

After the training in the Gurukula, in the company of the other brahmin boys, he came out with all Śāstric knowledge and Vedic culture available at the then best seats of learning. In addition to this, he made a spescial study of the Pūrva-mimāṁsa-Sūtras and wrote an exhaustive gloss on Śabara's commentary, advocating the religion of sacrificial rites, to the exclusion of the path of knowledge.

The Jains then were growing from strength to strength and he wanted to check Jainism but with all his efforts, he could not get at the secret of their success. They admitted no brahmin into their fold and none else, unless he swore in to Jainism for life. He, therefore disguised himself as a Jain monk and got himself enrolled as a disciple of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the newly risen leader of the Jain people then. Under Mahāvīra, he learnt all their religion and philosophy and was treated by Mahāvīra, and was treated by Mahāvīra more favourably than the other disciples, who, therefore, hated him. One day, Mahāvira reviled the Vedic religion and ridiculed the Vedic gods a little too much, with the result that Kumārila shed tears. The co-students noticed this strange phenomenon and

pointed it out cautiously to their Guru, Mahavīra, who suspected him to be a brahmin heratic. Mahā. conspired with his disciples and thought of making short work of Kumārila, rather than allow him to go out with their secrets. One day, therefore, just as Kumārila was sitting happily in the moonlight, the disciples took him, by some means, to the terrace of their teacher's palace, where the Guru was enjoying rest. The disciples were chit-chatting and playing in the bright moonlight. After some time, they received a hint from their teacher and immediately they managed to throw Kumārila out of the terrace. Poor Kumārila, in his mind only, said to himself - 'If the Vedas are true revelations, they will save me from death.' He came down to the ground unhurt except for some injury to his eyes, due to coming into contact with some hard substance. Anyhow, he escaped and ever since then, became an uncompromising opponent of Mahâvira. He drove the Jains from Court to Court by carrying on a regular (wordy) war on them with the help of kings like Sudhanvan of Dwārka, whom he converted to the Vedic religion, which he preached from one end of the country to the other.[1]

Regarding the early life of and other particulars about Kumārila, we do not get any information from the other biograhpers also.

Anantānandagiri merely tells us that 'some brahmin (called) Bhaṭṭācārya came from Udaga-deśa.[2] Br. Saras. says that when 2930 years of the Kali Era has elapsed, Bhaṭṭapāda was born in Śona Grāma, on the banks of the Śona village in the city of Pāṭali. It was about the time of Yaśovardhana. He was the son of a brahmin called Varada-Bhaṭṭa, who followed the Vedic religion. He learnt all the lores secretlly from the Buddhists. Men like Maṇḍaṇa came and studied under him all the lores including Pūrvamīmāṁsa. He led the life of a strict follower of Vedic Karma-mārga and his hermitage shone like that of Lord Brahmā.

Failing the biographers, we have to look to external sources, if any, for additional information. Even then we get very little.

Jain Prabandhas are said to inform us that Kumārila belonged to a village named Jayamangala in the south, on the border of the Āndhra and Utkala countries. He belonged to the Āndhra-Jāti, Tittiri Śakhā and his parents were known as Yajñeśvara and Candragaṇā. He was a great debator and a great respector of the Scriptures and was almost death unto the Jains.[3]

Prof. B. Upādhyaya refers to a Tibetan tradition, which the well-known historian

1. Vide 'Age of Śaṅkara', pp.135 to 138
2. Read :
भट्टाचार्यो द्विजवरः कश्चित् उदग्देशात्समागत्य..... ॥ Ch.54.
3. आन्ध्रोत्कलानां संयोगे पवित्रे जयमङ्गले ।
ग्रामे तस्मिन्महानद्यां भट्टाचार्यः कुमारकः ॥
आन्ध्रजातिस्तित्तिरिको माता चन्द्रगुणा सतो ।
यशेश्वरः पिता यस्य शुक्लेन्दुरिव वर्धतः ॥
जिनानामन्तकः साक्षाद्दुरुद्वेष्टाऽति पापवान् ॥ quoted in संस्कृतचन्द्रिका, Vol.V-p.5.

Tārānātha has followed and according to which Kumārila was the paternal uncle of the great Buddhistic teacher Dharmakirti, who belonged to the king Cudāmaṇi-kīrti in the south. The tradition is also said to have been corroborated by reference to it in other Tibetan works.

According to Tārānātha, Kumārila was a house-holder in an opulent condition. He owned much landed property and was served by 500 males and 500 female servants. He was greatly respected at the court of Cūḍāmani. Dharmakirti was a brahmin resident of Trimalaya in the South and his father's name was Korunanda. Though a brahmin, he was a very self-willed person and had no faith in the scriptures. He was very much impressed by expositions of the Buddhistic religion and left his house to come and stay at Nālandā, where he studied all the Buddhistc sciences, particularly the science of logic. He was, then, seized with a desire to study the brahmanical lora and finding that Kumārila was the only person really well-versed therein, he desired to study under him. He, therefore, went to him and began to serve him like a servant. He served so well that Kumārila was pleased with him and then at the instance of his own wife, Kumārila allowed him to sit along with the other brahmin-students under him. In a short time, Dharmakīrti mastered the brahmanical lore and then began to challenge the brahmin scholars to a discussion. One by one, he defeated them all and ended by defeating Kumārila himself, who subsequently embraced the Buddhistic faith.[4]

This account is completely the reverse of the one known to tradition - both Hindu and Jain - and as recorded by all the biographers, including Citsukha. Tārānātha is a writer of the 17th century A.D. and it is possible that the account was invented with the express purpose of setting it off against the traditional one of Kumārila's victory over the Buddhists after learning their secrets from their own teacher.

From all these accounts, one thing appears to be quite certain viz., that Kumārila was a southerner. Another passage from Tārānātha points to the same conclusion. He says :

"At this time, in the country of the South, among the leaders (lit. the bulls of the herd) of the non-buddhist doctrine was the famous brahmin Kumārila or gzhon-nu-rotpa."[5]

Citsukha also says that Kumārila was a southerner[6] and subsequently went to the north.

It does not seem necessary to controvert the opinion of those who say that "he is

4. Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa - History of Indian Logic - pp.303 to 306.
5. Tārānātha's History of Buddhism, p.133 - quoted by Dr. A.C. Burnell - I.A. - Vol. - pp.309 / 310.
6. T.S. Narayaṇa Śāstrin's 'Age of Śaṅkara', p.137.

believed to have been an Assamese Brahmin...."[7] or that of Prof. B. Upādhyāya who suggests that because Śālikanātha, the author of Prakaraṇa-pañcikā refers to Kumārila as Vārlikakāra-miśra, he must have hailed from the north. On the other hand, it is argued by other scholars that Kumārila's Mīmāṁsa - Vārtikas furnish conclusive proof of his connection with the Tamila land.[8] That, therefore, Kumārila must have belonged to the south can be taken to be fairly well settled.

Kumārila's known works are :

(1) Śloka-vārtika - commentary in verse on I:1 of Śābava Bhāṣya.

(2) Tantra-Vārtika "in prose on I:2, 3, 4, II and III - "

(3) Ṭup-Ṭīkā - running commentary on Chh.IV to XII - "

There is evidence to show that besides these works, Kumārila had written at least two more works, viz.,

(1) Bṛhat-tīka and (2) Madhyama-Tīkā[9] Extracts from both these works are found quoted by Bhaṭṭa-Someśvara in his work called Nyāyasudhā.[10]

This is all the information about Kumārila's early life. The subsequent story of his life, along with his crusade against the Jains and Buddhists, has been given by the biographers almost in the same terms, except for a few differences, which, however, are quite important.

What happened after Kumārila left his teacher's place (Buddhist or Jain) is only briefly touched upon by the other biographers, who say that Kumārila went on a crusade against the Buddhists and Jains whom he defeated at various places and extirpated them bodilly and their religion. There are only three biographers, Viz., Tiru. D., Mād., and Br. Saras, who give us the details of the crusade and the consequent extirpation. Out of these, Mādhava has merely copied Tiru.D. and thus we are practically left with only two. Their versions are as follows :

Mādhava tells us that after he had mastered all the lores, Kumārila went to the kingdom of Sudhanvaṅ, who, till then, was a Buddhist but who secretly admired the Vedic religion. On seeing Bhaṭṭapāda in the court, the king welcomed him very warmly, and Bhaṭṭapāda also pronounced blessings upon the king and occupied a golden seat. Just then, a cuckoo bird, sitting on a nearby tree happened to sing and taking advantage of it, Bhaṭṭapāda, with most evident irony, said to the king that had the parrot (i.e. the king himself) not kept the company of the dirty crows (i.e. sinful Buddhists), who indulged in noises, harsh to the ear (i.e. who

7. Three Great Ācāryas - p.22.
8. Vide I.A., Vol. pp.310.
9. Mādhava Sarasvati's Sarva-darśana-Kamudi has the following passage :
तत्र सहस्राधिकरणद्वादशलक्षणया मीमांसायाश्चतुर्विंशतिसहस्रं शबरस्वामिकृतं भाष्यम् । तदुपरि प्रस्थानद्वयम् भाट्टं प्राभाकरमिति । तत्र भट्टाचार्याणां पञ्चव्याख्यानानि भाष्यस्य एका बृहट्टीका, द्वितीया मध्यमटीका, तृतीया टुपटीका, चतुर्थी कारिका, पञ्चमं तन्त्रवार्तिकं उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तचिन्तकम् । सर्वदर्शनकौमुदी - p. 121 of माधवसरस्वती Ms. in Govt., O.Mss.Library, Madras.
10. Vide Third Oriental Conference Proceedings - Kumārila and Bṛhaṭṭīkā - pp. 526 to 528.

ridiculed the Śrutis i.e. the scriptures), he would have been commendable.[11] The Buddhists were naturally insulted by this speech and protested against it. Bhaṭṭapāda, however, engaged them in a scientific discussion and took their arguments to pieces. He humbled them completelly and then praised the Vedic religion to the king. The king, perhaps with a view to proving Bhaṭṭapāda more conclusively, said that success or defeat in argument depended upon the learning, more or less, of the debators but that necessarily was no indication of the truth of any particular religion. He, therefore, proposed that he would accept as eternally true the religion of the person, who would jump from the top of a mountain and yet remain unhurt. The Buddhists recoiled but Bhaṭṭapāda, with his faith in the Vedas, attempted the feat and succeeded. He came down from the mountain top like a lump of cotton. The king was very much impressed but the Buddhists would not admit their defeat so easily. They argued that this could be managed by means of some charms. The king, therefore, proposed another test. Secretly, he put a venomous serpent in a jar and called upon both the parties to declare the contents of the jar. He decreed that whoever failed to answer correctly, would be put in machine-like stones nad destroyed immediately. The Buddhists asked for a day's time and it was granted. The brahmins propitiated the Sun-god, who appeared before them and indicating the reply to be given, disappeared. The next day, the Buddhists went to the king's court and declared that the jar contained a poisonous serpent. The brahmins, headed by Bhaṭṭapāda, declared that it contained an image of the Lord, lying on Śeṣa. The king paled away at this utterance of the brahmins, but suddenly, an aerial voice broke out and declared that the brahmins were correct. The king, thereupon, opened the jar and to his surprise, found therein the image of Lord Viṣṇu. The king immediately decreed the death of all the Buddhists, man, woman and child, from the Himālayas sto the Rāmasetu.[12] And thus ended the crusade of Kumārila against the Buddhists.

Br. Saras, gives us a much more detailed account of Bhaṭṭapāda's conquest. It is as follows :

The greatness of Kumārila enraged the Buddhists. They complained to the king of the place that he had acquired all the lores from them but now followed the Vedic religion and propagated knowledge of the Vedas. He, therefore, should be punished. The son ofthe king of Magadha was Sudhanvan, himself a Buddhist. The king, thereupon, ordered Bhaṭṭapāda to give up the destruction of life and become a Buddhist or to leave the kingdom forthwith. Failing to do either, he would be liable to be put to death. Bhaṭṭapāda told the king that the Vedic religion alone was true and that the Buddhists preached a false doctrine. The king, then, called upon him to prove his Vedic religion by rendering whole his disabled (lame) younger brother. The Buddhists could not do it but Kumārila

11. The stanzas runs as :

मलिमैश्चन्न संगस्ते नीचैः काककुलैःपिक । श्रुतिदूषकनित्हावादैः श्लाघनीयस्तदा भवेः ॥ माधव सं.शं.जय 1 : 65

12. Read :

आसेतोरातुषाराद्रेबौध्दानावृद्धबालकान् । न हन्ति यः स हन्तव्यो भृत्यानित्यन्वशान्मृपः ॥ माधव 'S सं.शं.जय - I : 93.

performed a Vedic sacrifice, as a result of which Aśvins secretly came and by mere touch, rendered the brother whole. Then the preceptors Jñānasiddhi & c. proposed the test of falling from the hill. Kumārila successfully went through that also. He muttered the Bhīma-sūkta and the earth held him aloft, unhurt, like a mother her child.[13] He passed a third test of entering fire and remaining unscathed. Last was the test of divining the contents of the jar. The Sun-god came to him in advance to tell him that the Buddhists would say that it was a snake. In order to establish his spseciality, he should say that an image of Lord Viṣṇu, lying on Śeṣa, was in the jar. Lord Viṣṇu would remain there for him in a subtle form.[14] Accordingly, after Bhaṭṭapāda had declared the contents and the discovery was made, he praised Viṣṇu, who enjoined upon the king to follow the Vedic religion and to extirpate the Buddhists' faith. The king, therefore, asked the buddhists to accept thte vedic religion or be killed in an oil-machine. All submitted, except twelve learned persons, headed by Jñāna-siddhi, who were immediately destroyed in the machine.[15] The rest were protected, as they accepted the Vedic religion. Thereafter, Bhaṭṭapāda toured different places and converted various kings and their subjects to the Vedic religion. He disestablished the doctrines of the Buddhists and preached that in all the Vedas, the Karmakāṇḍa portion was important for all human beings. Persons with purified minds were fit for the Jñānakāṇḍa portion. Vedic karmas, performed without desire (for fruit) led to purification (of the mind) and a man, devoted to (selfless) performance of the Karmas, gradually attained liberation.[16] He then told king Sudhanvan that his mission was accomplished. Someone would be born for the establishment of Advaita. He would write a commentary of Advaita and come to him. Sudhanvan should accompany him and help him to refute the other schools. He himself (i.e. Kumārila) was under thte sin of the destruction of his preceptors and hence intended to expiate for it by entering and burning his body in Karīṣa-fire. He then sent back all his disciples like Maṇḍana-miśra and himself entered the chaff-fire.

Maṇimanjari's version is slightlly different. While narrating the story of Kumārila's

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13. Read : इत्युक्त्वा निपपातोर्व्यां माता पुत्रं यथा तथा ।
हस्ताभ्यां जगृहे भूमिः स्थापयामास भूतले ॥ वृ.शं.वि..

14. Read : परीक्षार्थे नृपेणैव नागस्तु स्थापितो घटे ।
नागं ब्रूयुश्च बौद्धास्तु विशेषस्ते न विद्यते ॥

देवानां वचनादेव विजयाय तव प्रभो ।
शेषशायी महाविष्णुर्नागस्यास्य शरीरके ।
सूक्ष्मरूपधरो भूत्वा कुर्याच्च शयनं क्रमात् ॥ वृ.शं.वि.

15. Read : ज्ञानसिद्धिपूर्वकाश्च विद्वांसो राजमानिताः ।
गुरवो द्वादशैवात्र तीव्रवैराग्यधारिणः ॥
तैलयन्त्रे च संस्थाप्य पिष्टाश्च नाशिताः क्षणात् ॥ Ibid.

16. Read : वेदेषु कर्मकाण्डस्तु मुख्यः स्यात्तुनृजन्मिनाम् ।
चित्तशुद्धियुता एव ज्ञानकाण्डाधिकारिणः ।
निष्कामेनानुष्ठितानि शुद्धिं संजनयन्ति हि ।
स्वकर्मनिरतो मर्त्यो क्रमान्मुक्तिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ I- Ibid.

fall from the terrace of his Buddhist preceptor, it adds that an aerial voice told him that due to the doubt he expressed about the authority of the Vedas, he was hurt in the eye.[17] Some time thereafter, the king of the place called him and asked him to state the view favoured by the gods. Kumārila told him that the duties laid down as being proper for Varṇāśrama should not be given up by those desiring to attain liberation. That the Vedas were authoritative was the view approved by the gods and that he who desired gati should abandon the theory of the Sugatas. If he were allowed, he would soon overcome the Buddhists and if he failed, he was ready to being thrown into fire. The king readily agreed and promised him in return that if he defeated the Sugatas, he would throw them into fire. Kumārila, then, wrote a very closely reasoned commentary on Śabara's Bhāṣya and in that commentary, took to pieces the science of the Buddhists.[18] Then, by the method of Vitaṇḍā, he defeated the Mādhyamikas[19] and made them enter fire (of course, with the help of the king). Bhaṭṭakumāra thus established his fame while his brother Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa entered fire.[20]

It is necessary to discuss two or three points before dealing with the Kumārila-Śaṅkara encounter proper. The first is : who were the opponents of Kumārila - Jains or Buddhists?

The older authorities like Citsukha and Jain works quoted already, agree in describing the Jains as the opponents of Kumārila. Most of the later writers, however, have confused and even identified the Jains and the Buddhists. They refer to the opponents by the term Saugatas, which applied to the Jains and the Buddhists equally. But, writers like Govindanātha, Mādhava, Sadānanda and Nīlakaṇṭha specify them as Buddhists. These writers seem to use the words Sugata and Buddha as synonymns of each other. The commentator of Mādhava,

17. Vide : वेदप्रामाण्यसंदेहात्काणोऽसीत्यशरीरवाक् ॥ मणिमञ्जरी - V : 41.
18. Vide Ibid. V : 48 बौद्धशास्त्रनिकृन्तिनीम् ।
19. Vide Ibid. V : 50.
20. Vide Ibid. VI : 29.

Prof. B. Upādhyāya says that Kumārila first toured the north and after vanquishing it, toured to the south. In south India, a king named Sudhanvan ruled the country of Karnātaka. His city was known as Ujjain, no particulars of which are available today. The king had faith in the Vedic religion but caught in the grips of the Jains, had started believing their religion also. To his court, Kumārila went during his tour of the South. In those days, the Jain and Buddhists religions were the current coin and the brahmins were being criticised and condemned. Though the king partly favoured the Jain religion also, his wife favoured the Vedic religion alone. One day, as she was sitting in one of the balkanies of her palace, pondering over the future of the Vedic religion, she just exclaimed ' 'What shall I do and when shall I go? Who will resuccitate the Vedas? (किं करोमि क्व गच्छामि को वेदानुद्धरिष्यति ।). Kumārila, who just then, happened to be passing by the road in front of the balkany, heard those sad words of helplessness and loudly declared : "Do not be sad, O lady of beautiful hips! I am here, Bhattācārya, on the earth." मा विषीद वरारोहे भट्टाचार्योऽस्मि भूतले, ॥). It is well known that he made good his words.

This is indeed a very interesting story and also not at all improbable but unfortunately, the learned professor does not mention its source. It cannot be traced to any of the 15/16 biographies used for this thesis.

renders the words Sugata and Tathāgata as Buddhists.[21] Cidvilāsa, Rāja. D. and Br. Saras, use the word Sugatas only, though the commentator of Rāja, D. explains the 'bāhyamata' as 'bauddhadimata'. Bāla Gopāla refers to Buddhists alone. Anantanandagiri refers to Buddhists and Jains separately while most curiously, Vyāsācala refers to the opponents of Kumārila as Tathāgatas and Jains only. The two words occur in two successive stanzas of the same chapter[22] and evidently, the second word seems to be a paraphrase of the former. It is worth noting that Mādhava has copied these two stanzas also[23] but while he retains the first word of Vyā., he replaces the second by his own word Rājā. Further, after describing the slaughter of the Buddhists by king Sudhanvan, Mādhava refers to Jains the haters of religion[24] and Jain elephants, destroyed.[25] Thus, among the later biographers also, the older ones refer to Jains also among the opponents of Kumārila. The inclusion and ultimatelly the identification of the Jains and Buddhists has been made gradually by the writer afterwards, and there appears to be a definite process of the development of this confusion between the two. Vyā., perhaps the oldest of later biographers, refers to Jains only while Mādhava who repeats him verbatim, has only tampered with the original and given a different reading. Similar tampering is found in Sadānanda also who incorporates bodily stanzas from Citsukha's work but makes certain changes, showing the buddhists as the only opponents of Kumārila. It, therefore, seems justifiable to conclude that the main opponents of Kumārila were really the Jains though it may be conceded that he had to face thet Buddhists also.

Against this view, there have been raised two objections. The first was raised by a (Digambara) Jain Pandit who said that the story of Kumārila being a contemporary and student of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra and also that he was mainly opposed by the Jains was without any support in their religious or secular literature.

The first part of the objection, it should be noted, objects to the contemporaneity of Kumārila and Vardhamāna Mahāvira and temporarily, it may be conceded. The later. biographers, however, clearly bear out that Jains also were among the opponents of Kumārila though they do not mention Mahāvīra.

The second objection is that in all the extensive works of Kumārila, he does not refute Jain tenets anywhere though he has taken great pains to criticise Buddhistic principles. If Jains were his real opponents, this silence has to be explained. This objection can be answered thus :

Uniform tradition, which, from Citsukha down to Nīlakaṇṭha (19th century A.D.), mentions Jains as being among the opponents of Kumārila has certainly some meaning.

21. Vide Dhanapati's comm. on सं.शं.जय - I : 70 तथागता सुगताः ।.
22. Vide Vyā.'s Śaṅkara Vijaya - V : 20 and 21.
23. Vide Mād.'s Ś.Ś. Jaya - VII : 90 and 91.
24. Read : जैना धर्मद्विषो हताः । सं.शं.जय of Mādhava - I : 95.
25. Read : "हसेषु जिनहस्तिषु" Ibid - I : 97.

Most of the later critics of Kumārila have been Jains, which is a very significant fact. The Jains were a fresh force in the field then and must have been met face to face. The voice of the Buddhists was confined to written works mainly and hence the necessity to record criticism of their theories in writing. Moreover, all the works of Kumārila have not to come to light so far, a fact pointed out already.

Secondly, only because the works of a person do not contain refutation of a particular person, it does not mean that the sect was not in existence then. Nor does it mean that the sect refuted was prominent. Otherwise, it will have to be admitted that in Śaṅkara's time, the theory of the Sāṁkhyas was even more powerful than that of the Buddhists, because Śaṅkara has devoted nearly a third portion of his commentary on the Vedānta-Sūtras to the refutation of their principles. Śaṅkara, moreover, does refute the Jain principles to some extent. It is also possible to argue that Jains being quite fresh then, had not developed theories to the extent to which they were by the Buddhists, who required a much more extensive refutation at the bands of both Kumārila and Śaṅkara. It, therefore, seems that not much fruitful argument can be put forward to disprove that Jains were thet opponents of Kumārila. The contemporaneity of Mahāvīra and Kumārila is open to argument.

Mr. Kṛṣṇaswāmi Iyer raises two objections to the account of Kumārila's crusade. They are :

(1) "Bhaṭṭa's dialectic skill did not prove quite so successful here (i.e. at King Sudhanva's court) as it might have done elsewhere" for "if Bhaṭṭa had really achieved a dialectical victory at the court, as at other courts of kings and royal personages, tradition would surely have recorded it after the beaten manner." Mr. Iyer says that the test of falling down from the hill was only a repetition for Kumārila while his subsequent failure to divine the contents of the jar and his being saved by an aerial voice, he is unable to explain.

At the outset, it must be said that Mr.Iyer's criticism portains to Mādhava's version of the story only. Besides Mādhava, however, there are as many as 14 or 15 biographers and out of these, only three (including the most miracle-fond Br. Saras. and Maṇimanjari) narrate the story of these tests at the king's court. The rest, including Anantānandagiri, Vyāsācala and Govindanātha, the oldest biographers, merely tell us that Kumārila, by virtue of his proficiency in the sceiences of both, floored the opponents in a manner which they could not check. There is nothing either unnatural or improbable in the story that an exceptionally gifted intellect like Kumārila, who had taken special pains to study the sciences of the opponents and thus had got at the weak points in their theories and arguments, should have succeeded in exploding their criticisms of the Vedic religion. Perhaps, it was this double-edged intellect that the opponents found invincible, with the result that they were forced to give in. That such a dialectical victory, if Kumārila had actually scored it, would have been

recorded by tradition is only a negative argument. Taking into consideration the manner in which other conversations have been recorded by tradition, it is difficult to understand what definite form of the beaten manner the learned critic had in view. The greatest of the discussions, viz., the one between Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana, is not at all given by most of the biographers and those that have given it are most probably not quite true to the original. As a matter of fact, no discussion or debate has come down to us in a proper and an acceptable form. It can only be concluded that some discussion took place and that one party defeated the other. That the Buddhists and / or Jains were defeated by Kumārila is a version given unanimously by all the biographers including Maṇimanjari. Only two writers, Mādhava and Br. Saras. - both of them later ones - give the story of the tests. It may be said that in those days, it might have been considered not quite proper to settle higher issues like those of religion and philosophy by means of a mere academic discussion, or that Kumārila thought of supplementing his academic victory by some such demonstration. Even the king might have felt such a need for himself and the public. Whatever the truth of these stories, they need not and do not disprove Kumārila's academic triumph over his opponents.

Mr. Iyer's second objection relates to Mādhava's statement regarding the whole-sale destruction of the Buddhists. The contention is twofold. Firstly, he says, we are not aware of any sovereign in those days (the reference is to the 8th century A.D.) who held a sway from the Himālayas to the Rāmasetu, so that he could be said to have issued such a decree. Secondly, India's history is characterised by a spirit of tolerance in religious and philosophical matters and acts of persecution must, if at all, have only been few and far between. To put it in Mr. Iyer's words, "we have ample reason to believe that religious and political fires of persecution hardly ever discoloured the serene skies of the Indian villages..." and "testimony from unexpected quarters continues to come in our own days to prove that a wide, fierce and relentless persecution for the sake of religion could never have been a fact in the history of India."[26]

It is quite possible to agree with these observations with the addition that almost none of the other biographers makes such a sweeping statement as that of Mādhava, in respect of the extermination of Buddhists or Jains. In fact, many tell us that only a few obstinate leaders of that school were destroyed while the others were only converted and that this destruction also was done at one place only, viz., the court of King Sudhanvan. Inquisition and the like are unknown to Indian history but Citsukha also tells us that Kumārila defeated the Jains and cut off their heads by their own vows.[27] This statement, coupled with the statement of almost all the biographers does seem to show that at least some cases of this type must have taken place - those too at thte hands of the king - though there may not have been a large-scale massacre. The words "by their own vows" seem also to indicate how the head-cutting must have taken place. Fanatical devotion to

26. Vide Three Great Ācāryas - Life of Śaṅkara - by Mr. C.N. Kṛṣṇaswāmi Iyer - p.26.

any creed often makes a person undertake hazardous vows in defence of that creed and possibly, in the heat of their feeling for the Jain religion, the Jains agreed to have their heads cut off in case of their defeat. Kumārila, with his superior knowledge and logic defeated them all and the result followed. This obviates both the difficulties raised by Mr. Iyer.

We now come to Śaṅkara-Kumārila meeting proper. Since we do not have Citsukha's version hereafter, we have to examine the versions of the other biographers only.

It has already been said that according to Citsukha, Śaṅkara was at Prayāga when news was brought regarding Kumārila's self-immolation. Most of the biographers give the same place but according to Anantānandagiri and Vallī., Śaṅkara was at Śrī Śaila (Mallikārjuna), while Br. Saras. seems to place Śaṅkara at Kāśī. Nearly nine biographers[28] tell us that some people reported to Śaṅkara, Kumārila's entry into the fire at some nearby village. Anantā. gives the village as Siddhapur and when Śaṅkara went to that place, he found that the Mīmāṁsaka was already in fire for ten days. According to Cidvilāsa, a brahmin from Ruddhanagar came and gave the report to Śaṅkara, who thereupon repaired to that place. Not finding him there, he made a search and traced him to an uninhabited jungle. Vallī. gives the same name Ruddhanagara. Br. Saras.'s story is, as usual, quite new.

According to Br. Saras., some brahmin Koṇabhaṭṭa from Pātalīnagar in Magadha came to Śaṅkara and first narrated to him the story of Sudhanvan and how he was converted by Kumārila. He, then, told him that if he conquered Kumārila, all the people of Bhārata would accept his religion by king's order. Śaṅkara, thereupon, came to Pāṭalīnagara and Sudhanvan, hearing it, remembered Kumārila's words, went to see him and after worshipping him, told him what Kumārila had predicted. Then he told him about Kumārila's entry into the fire and requested leave to accompany him. Śaṅkara told him that he should do so only when he would go out for refuting the various durmatas in India. Śaṅkara, then, left the place and went to see Kumārila.

According to these writers, then, Śaṅkara first received report regarding Kumārila's entry into fire and then went to the place to see him. As against this, Govindanātha, Bāla Gopāla, and G.V.K. tell us that just when Śaṅkara came to Prayāga for a bath, he saw Kumārila in Chaff-fire. Vyā., Mād., Sadā., Param. and Nīla., do not precisely mention any place away from Prayāga but the fact that according to them, Śaṅkara received reports

27. Read :
जित्वा जैनान् विवादेषु जिनं चापि विदूषयन् ।
शिरांसि छेदयामास जैनानां शपथैर्निजैः ॥ Quoted by T.S. Narayana Śāstri - in 'Age of Śaṅkara' p.143.

28. Viz., Anant., Vyā., Cid., Mād., Sadā., Param., Br. Saras., Nīla., and Vallī.

from people about Kumārila's deed, seems to show that the place was somewhat away. It does not seem probable that Kumārila would have done the thing in such a public place. It is more natural to suppose that he did it in some remote place, as stated by Cid. or even in some nearby village, as stated by other biographers.

When Śaṅkara came to Kumārila, he was, according to some biographers, surrounded by his disciples, among whom was the great Prabhākara. Others do not mention any such disciples but it is quite natural that at such a juncture, a man like Kumārila was surrounded by his disciples. Vyā. and Rāja.D. even mention the name of Maṇḍaṇa. So also, some tell us that Kumārila, on seeing Śaṅkara, was very glad at his sight[29] and offere him worship at the hands of his disciples while others directly proceed to describe their exchanges.

After recounting his past history, Kumārila tells Śaṅkara that he felt he was guilty of two sins, viz., opposition to his Guru and denial of God. He was trying to atone for both by burning his body in chaff-fire, which, according to him, was the only expiration for the sins.

Śaṅkara wanted an opportunity for discussion, if necessary, with Kumārila and then to have him wrote Vārtikas on his own commentary on the Vedānta-Sūtras. According to many biographers,[30] Kumārila, immediately on seeing Śaṅkara and his commentary, which Śaṅkara showd him, told him that 8000 Vārtikas occurred to him on the First or Adhyāsabhāsya alone and had it not been for the fact that he had taken the vow, he would very gladly have written Vārtikas on the entire Bhāṣya. Other biographers make no mention of these Vārtikas. Śaṅkara, seeing him half-burnt, tried to convince him that he had not committed any misdeed in extirpating the opponents, including even the so-called Gurus and hence there was no need for any expiation. If, therefore, Kumārila was agreeable, Śaṅkara offered to bring him out of the fire alive and whole. The offer is referred to by Tiru D. Rāja. D., Mādhava, Sadā., Br. Saras., Nīla., and Vallī. while the rest do not refer to it. Kumārila politely refused to be revived and four biographers, Mād., Sadā., Br. Saras. and Nīla., give his reasons for the refusal. According to Mād., and Sadā., Kumā., says that though blameless, the revival would be opposed to practice of the world and hence he did not desire it.[31] According to Br. Saras. and Nīla., if Kumārila, who had established Karma-mārga, he would be considered Apramāṇa in both the sciences.[32] Nīla, is the solitary biographer to tell us that Śaṅkara actually sprinkled a few drops of water from his Kamaṇḍalu, was thereafter initiated by Śaṅkara into the mysteries of Advaita philosophy and immediately giving up his body, he attained the seat of Murāri.

Most of the biographers tell us that both recognised each other in his true form but

29. Anantānandagiri is the only writer to say that at first right, Kumārila took Śaṅkara to be some Buddhist and actually asked him why he had come to him in his last moments - Śaṅkara told him that he was no Buddhist but Śaṅkara, the pure monist. Read : ''नाहं बौद्धः, किन्तु शङ्कराचार्यः शुद्धाद्वैतमार्गवर्ती प्रसङ्गादिहागतोऽस्मि ॥''.

30. Viz., व्यासा. गोविन्दनाथ, तिरु.दी., माधव, तदानन्द.

Kumārila nowhere seems to have exhibited any desire to join issue with Śaṅkara or to enter into any academic discussion with him. The biographers unanimously tell us that he expressed regret that inspite of his desire to write Vārtikas on Śaṅkara's commentary on Vedānta-Sūtras, he was not destined to get that credit and that he directed Śaṅkara to his greatest disciple, Maṇḍaṇa or Viśvarupa, according to most of them, staying at Māhiṣmati (Magadha).

Some people describe that Śaṅkara forthwith started for Maṇḍaṇa's place and do not refer to Kumā. thereafter while others say that at his instance, Śaṅkara initiated him into Advaita and that Kumārila attained liberation. According to Anantā., he attained the highest position even without the initiation. According to some, before proceeding to Maṇḍaṇa, Śaṅkara returned to Ruddhapur (Cid.), Siddhapur (Anantā.), Pātalīnagar (Br.Saras.), where he converted to his faith, people of the place and also the king (Bhadrasena - Cid. and Br. Saras.). Thence, he went to Magadha or Mahiṣmatī (to Kāśmir, according to Cid. and Br.Saras.), to see Maṇḍaṇamiśra. A single reading of this episode, as described by the various biographers, with their mutual variations and differences, is sufficient to show that the data for it is quite meagre. No one seems to know for certain what trasnpired at the meeting of the two great men of the time, who, to use Macauley's words, represented "a splendid rise and a splendid sunset."[33] It seems certain that the two had met, though without any useful exchange between them. The passage quoted in Sanskṛt Candrika as from Jain Prabandhas is quite explicit on the point of their meeting. The passage tells us that at the time of the meeting, Kumārila was 48 years older than Śaṅkara, who, at the time, was onlyl fifteen years of age. The same passage says that at the time of entering fire, Kumārila was 63 years old.[34] Even like the fact of the meeting, the fact that Kumārila entered fire and burnt himself alive has been testified to by all the biographers without exception, including Citsukha and the same is also supported from the passage from Jain literature.

Mr. Kṛṣṇaswāmi Iyer, while admitting the second of these two facts, disputes the first. He says : "Tragic and full of instruction his narrative undoubtedly sounds but for purposes of history, it is to be feared that the part of the story relating to the meeting of Śaṅkara and Bhaṭṭa is valueless; for chronology does not favour it, if we have it upon the right time for Śaṅkara."[35]

31. Read : नार्हामि शुद्धमपि लोकविरुद्धकृत्यम् ।
कर्तुं मयीडय महितोक्तिरियं तवार्हा ॥ माधव. सं.शं. जय - VII : 109 (Compare Sadā.'s शं.दि.सार.- V : 116)

32. Read : कर्ममार्गस्थापकोऽहं कर्मशास्त्रं प्रकीर्तितम् ।
अनुष्ठेनं मया योगिन्नो चेल्लोका मदीरितम् ॥
न मानयेयुः सिद्धान्तमतस्त्यक्ष्यामि मे वपुः ॥ ब्र.सर.'s बृ.शं.वि. .

33. Vide his Essay on William Chatham (Elder) Pitt.

Mr. Iyer has not advanced any reason to support his statement that chronology does not favour the meeting. He ought to have shown more conclusively what anachronism resulted from accepting that the two had met. It is also not clear what he means by the right time for Śaṅkara. To set aside the unanimous version of 15 to 17 biographers, including Cit., and the weight of unanimous tradition on this point, some more powerful evidence is required. The criticism itself, therefore, can be brushed aside as valueless.

The story of Kumārila's denial of God as one of his reasons, referred to by Vyā., Tiru D., Raja. D., Mād., and Parama., does not seem to be quite true. As against these biographers, about ten others tell us that he was atoning for his destruction of the Gurus only.

As Prof.B. Upādhyāya has pointed out, Kumārila was not a non-believer in God. At the very commencement of him Śloka-Vartika, he salutes Lord Siva.[36] The Pūrvamīmāṁsā is not atheistic. People wrongly believe so. Moreover, even without a discussion, Kumārila requests Śaṅkara to initiate him into Advaita and after the initiation, he gave up his body. This also clearly shows that he must have believed and quite firmly in God. For purposes of his system, he may have regarded Karman as superior to God but that once more proves the existence of God.

The story of the 8000 Vārtikas on the Adhyāsa-bhāṣya also does not seem to be true. It may, however, be admitted that Kumārila was not opposed to Śaṅkara's theory of Advaita and that if he had lived, he would have championed it as if it were his own, by writing Vārtikas on Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya and by propagating it with his superb knowledge and skill. Perhaps, that would have been the greatest contribution to philosophy in that we would have been able to see Mīmāṁsā in the correct light and in what relation it was intended to stand to philosophy or Vedānta. The world of thoguht is so much the loser in not getting the benefit of Kumārila's talents and knowledge, brought to bear on the problem of amalgamation of the two systems of Mīmāṁsā. Kumā. himself expressed regret that he was not destined to attain that fame by writing Vārtikas on Śaṅkara's commentary. The root of the later-day explanation, put in his mouth for refusing revival, seems to lie in the fact that irreconsiliable opposition of Jñāna and Karman had become very firmly established in the field but that it was not so in the eyes of Kumārila. He had, perhaps, some method of reconciling the two, but whatever it may have been, at least at present, it is a matter for mere conjecture.

Even like these two stories, Nilā.'s story of Kumārila's end also need not be believed. It is not supported either by tradition or by any other biographer. The Jain passages give the

34. Read :

गुणानां च तथाऽऽस्यानां कार्तिकेयस्य मेलनात् । प्रमाथी मायधमासश्च..... ॥ Quoted in संस्कृतचन्द्रिका Vol. V :2:p.6.

35. Vide 'Three Great Ācāryas' - p.28.

36. Read :

विशुद्धज्ञानदेहाय त्रिवेदीदिव्यचक्षुषे ।
श्रेयःप्राप्तिनिमित्ताय नमः सोमार्धधारिणे ॥

direct lie to it. It seems possible, that Kumārila, not being much opposed to Śaṅkara's theory of Advaita and Śaṅkara also, seeig the work done by Kumārila as also his purity of mind and character, initiated him, at his instance, into the mysteries of philosophy. There are many biographers to confirm the view that Kumārila did not die an ordinary death but attained knowledgge of the self before he gave up his body. Before he actually passed away, Kumārila directed Śaṅkara to his choicest disciple Maṇḍaṇa and bade him achieve what he had missed in himself i.e. Kumārila, by converting Maṇḍaṇa to his own theory and getting him to write Vārtika on his Bhāṣya. It may be remarked in passing that this is additional evidence to show that Kumārila was more favourable than opposed to Śaṅkara's philosophy. Śaṅkara accepted the inevitable and set out to meet the second great Mīmāṁsaka, Maṇḍaṇamiśra.

Chapter - X

ŚAṄKARA AND MAṆḌANA MIŚRA

Before dealing with the actual encounter of the two great thinkers, it is necessary to discuss the much debated question of Maṇḍana's identity.

Many biographers tell us that Maṇḍana was the same as Viśvarupa who, after defeat at the hands of Śaṅkara, was initiated by him into Sannyāsa and renamed Sureśvara. Some plainly identify the two while others imply their identity. Still others mention only Maṇḍana while others mention Viśvarupa only. Some writers mention both and yet keep them distinct.

(i) Thus, Vyā., Rāja. D., and G.V.K. clearly distinguish between Maṇḍana and Viśvarupa but say that Maṇḍana, who was present during the last moments of Kumārila, immediately surrendered to Śaṅkara[1] and then Śaṅkara set out for Viśvarupa's place.

(ii) Anantānandagiri, Cidvilāsa, Bāla Gopāla, Br. Saras., and Nīla., and Vallī., mention Maṇḍana only while Govindanātha mentions only Viśvarupa and makes no reference to Maṇḍana.

(iii) Mādhava, after describing the birth of Sureśvara and Maṇḍana from Brahma and Bṛhaspati separately,[2] describes the marriage of Viśvarupa and Bhārati. Mādhava says that Maṇḍana becomes known as Viśvarūpa[3] and this same person became Sureśvara, thereby establishing the identity of Maṇḍana, Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara.

Sadānanda says practically the same thing when he tells us that Viśvarūpa later on became known as Maṇḍana and after Sannyāsa, was renamed Sureśvara.

(iv) Parameśvara, who follows Mādhava, principally mentions the name of Maṇḍana but uses the name Viśvarūpa as a synonym twice, thereby implying the identity of the two.

1. Vide Vyā.'s Śaṅkara Vijaya. V : 47; G.V.K. II : 50.
2. Vide S.Ś. Jaya - III : 6 and 8
3. Vide S.Ś. Jaya - III : 28

There was a time when Maṇḍana-Sureśvara identity was taken for granted. The late Prof. Hiriyaṇṇā first challenged it in his article on Sureśvara and Maṇḍanamiśra[4], wherein he drew attention to certain notable points of doctrinal differences between the two, gathered from Advaitic works like Bṛhadāraṇyaka - Vārtika, Laghucandrikā, Sankśepa-Śārīraka & c. He also referred to the version of the G.V.K. in this connection, pointed out already. The late MM. Kuppuswāmy Śāstri took his clue from this article and when he edited Maṇḍaṇa's 'Brahmasiddhi,' a work on Advaita Vedānta, he followed up the theory with his own arguments in favour of the new challenge. His arguments and the arguments of other scholars like MM.Dr. P.V. Kane, fall into two groups mainly. The first set of arguments almost exclusively belongs to Prof.K. Śāstri while the second set is common to all critics.

Firstly, then, Prof. Śāstri compares a good many passages and views expressed in Maṇḍaṇa's Brahmasiddhi (it is not necessary to detail all these passages here) and sets them off against passages and views on similar topics, occurring in the works of Sureśvara. He has tried to show that in all these places, the latter's views are diametrically opposed to those of the former, who has been referred to by name specifically and then refuted by Sureśvara. Prof. Śāstri even suggests that Maṇḍaṇa's work was written after Śaṅkara wrote his commentary on the Brahma-Sūtra and that the views expressed in the latter, particularly those relating to Sannyāsa, are criticised by the former in his work and that "the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi was deliberately designed by Sureśvara, acting at the instance of his great master, Śaṅkara, to be a clear and effective counterblast to Maṇḍaṇa's attitude towards Jñānakarma-Samucchaya."[5] Sureśvara, at times, does not hesitate to use sneering and ironical terms such as पण्डितंमन्या:, गंभीरन्यायवेदिन:, वेदार्थनिश्चिता:, महामीमांसका धीरा &c.[6] The inevitable inference from this is that Maṇḍaṇa and Sureśvara must be regarded as distinct personalities.

The second argument is concerned with how other persons refer to Surreśvara. Almost a battallion of such writers has been put forward to show that Sureśvara is identified by these people with Viśverūpa and not with Maṇḍaṇa. Prof. K. Śāstri prefaces this topic with the remark : "In none of the available authoritative works on Advaita-system, Maṇḍaṇamiśra is identified with Sureśvara, while in many Vedantic works of Advaita and Dvaita schools, Maṇḍaṇa and Sureśvara are distinguished as two different Advaitins." The various references given by scholars are :

1. Sarvajñātman clearly distinguishes between the systems of Maṇḍaṇa and Sureśvara, at II : 174 of his work Sankṣepa-Śārīraka.[7]

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4. Vide J.R.A.S. - April 1923 - Article 1923 'Sureśvara and Maṇḍanamiśra.
5. Introduction to Br. Siddhi, p.47.
6. Introduction to Br. Siddhi, p.30.
7. The stanzas reads :जीवन्मुक्तिगतो यदाह भगवान् सत्सम्प्रदायमग्रभुः ।
जीनाऽज्ञानवचस्तदीदृगुचितं पूर्वापरालोचनात् ।
अन्यत्राऽपि तथा बहुश्रुतवचः पूर्वापरालोचनात् ।
नेतव्यं परिहृत्य मण्ठनवचः तद्धयन्यथा प्रस्थितम् ॥ संक्षेपशारीरक - II : 174.

2. While commenting upon II : 174 of S. Śāriraka, all the commentators, viz., authors of (1) सिद्धान्तदीप (2) सम्बन्धोक्ति (3) सुबौधिनी (4) अन्ययार्थप्रकाशिका & (5) सारसङ्ग्रह, differentiate between the two systems so strikingly that it would be impossible to equate Maṇḍaṇa with Sureśvara.

3. Prakāśatman in his विवरण and शाब्दनिर्णय indicates the views of Padmapāda and Sureśvara and criticises Maṇḍaṇa but where he quotes him with approval, he refers to him and not to Sureśvara, as the author of Brahmasiddhi.

4. Ānandabodha quotes extracts from Brahmasiddhi in his own Nyāya-Makaranda many times and accept his views in some cases but criticises them where he agrees with Sureśvara's views. Citsukha, in his commentary on Nyāya-Makaranda, identifies all these references but nowhere equates Maṇḍaṇa with Sureśvara.

5. Pratyak-savarūpa, in his commentary Nayanaprasādini on Citsukha's Tattva-pradipika, carefully distinguishes between the two persons.

6. Ānandānubhava, a great Sannyāsin of Advaita school, presupposed by Citsukha and the author of Nyāyaratna-dīpāvali, unmistakably distinguishes Maṇḍaṇa from Viśvarūpa in a section, which approves of Ekadaṇḍi-Sannyāsa in preference to Tridaṇḍi-Sannyāsa.[8] He, further, tells us that Viśvarūpa, in his Bālakrīda, expressed himself in favour of the former, that he himself entered that order and was thereafter known as Sureśvara. It may also be made out from this book (Bālakrīda) that though Maṇḍaṇa favoured that kind of Sannyāsa, he himself never became a Sannyāsin.

7. Ānandagiri, the commentator of Ānandānubhava's Nyāya-ratna-dīpāvali and also of Sureśvara's Vārtikas, clearly shows them separately and points out that Sureśvara repudiates Maṇḍaṇa's view in favour of prasamkhyāna in Bṛ. Up. Bhāsya-Vārtika.

8. Amalānanda in his Kalpataru points out that Maṇḍaṇa criticises Śaṅkara's views and assumes that Vārtikas of Sureśvara expound Śaṅkara's views and that Sureśvara and Maṇḍaṇa were two different Advaitins with different stand-points.

9. Mādhava in his Vivaraṇa-prameya-Saṁgraha, quotes a stanza from Bṛ. Vārtika of Sureśvara as from the pen of Viśvarūpa and refers to Maṇḍaṇa as the author of Brahmasiddhi.

10. Vidyāranya, in his Vārtika-sāra, refers to the author of Brahmasiddhi as a knower of the secret of the Vedas and quotes a stanza[9] in support of one of the

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8. Read : किं च प्रसिद्धप्रभावैर्विश्वरूपप्रभाकरमण्डनवाचस्पति सुचरितमिथैः.... ।''

9. The stanza runs : सर्वप्रत्ययवेद्ये वा ब्रह्मरूपे व्यथस्थिते ।
प्रप ञ्चस्य प्रविलबयः शब्देन प्रतिपाद्यते ॥ सिद्धिकाण्ड-कारिका.

interpretations of "अयात जादेशो मेति नेता" From this portion of Vārtika-sāra and from the commentary Laghusaṁgraha thereon, it is clear that authors of both definitely distinguish between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara.

It may be observed that for the text "अयात" Sureśvara proposes three alternative interpretations, out of which he follows the second and the third and rejects the first as implying Bhāvādvaita, which Maṇḍana accepts as not inconsistent with Advaita-Brahman. Sureśvara also criticises Maṇḍana on this point.

11. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and Brahmānanda-Sarasvati nowhere equate Maṇḍana and Sureśvara. The Vedāntakalpalatikā of Mādu., Saras., quotes the Vartika and Brahmasiddhi in successive sentences as works of two different authors on Advaita and clearly sets forth Sureśvara's Vārtika in opposition to Maṇḍana's Bhāvādvaita.

12. Jñānāmṛta, in his commentary Vidyāsurabhi, while criticising Maṇḍana's view that prasamkhyāna brings about realisation of Brahman, emphatically suggests that though Maṇḍana is a great Mimāṁsaka, his Advaita-Saṁpradāya, as embodied in Brahmasiddhi, is not a good one (Sat-saṁpradāya) while Sureśvara's tradition, based as it is on Śaṅkara's works, is a good Saṁpradāya.

Prof.K. Śāstri draws four conclusions from the evidence adduced :

(1) Maṇḍana, the author of Brahmasiddhi was never a disciple of Śaṅkara, did not become a Sannyāsin, was not identical with Sureśvara and represented an Advaitic system (prasthāna), different from that of Śaṅkara.

(2) Sureśvara, who was known as Viśvarūpa in his householder's stage, was a pupil of Kumārila then and became known as Sureśvara when he entered the order of Sannyāsins and became Śaṅkara's disciple. In his Vārtika and Naiṣkarmya-siddhi, he controverted many an Advaitic doctrine, propounded by Maṇḍana in his Br. Siddhi and nowhere departed from the system of Śaṅkara.

(3) Maṇḍana wrote his Br. Siddhi after seeing Śaṅkara's commentaries, particularly the one on Br. Sūtras and Sureśvara wrote Naiṣkarmya siddhi in answer to Maṇḍana's objections against Śaṅkara.

The belief, therefore, of scholars in general in the matter of Maṇḍana-Sureśvara identity is due to lace of examination of internal evidence, supplied by works like Br.Siddhi.

Dr. P.V. Kāṇe, while discusing Viśvarūpa's Balakrīdā, adds the following arguments to the second group.

10. Vide his History of Dharma-Śāstra - Vol. I - pp.261 2.

1. In Puruṣārtha-prabodha of Brahmānanda Bhāratī, composed in 1476 (probably Śaka), the author speaks of Naiṣkarmya-Siddhi as a work of Viśvarūpa.[11]

2. In Manasollāsa-Vṛttānta-Vilāsa, a commentary by Rāmatirtha on Sureśvara's Manasollāsa, a gloss on Śaṅkara's Dakṣiṇāmūrti Stotra, Ramatirtha gives Sureśvara as another name of Viśvarūpa.[12]

3. In his Parāśara Mādhavīya, Mādhava quotes a Kārika[13] from Sureśvara's Br. Up.Bh. Vārtika and in the introductory words to the same, attributes it to Viśvarūpa.[14] The original Sūtra of Āpastambas is आप.ध.सू. I : 7:20:3

4. According to the tradition in the Śaṅkara Vijayas Śaṅkara had four pupils viz., Sureśvara, Padmapāda, Toṭaka ad Hastāmalaka. But several works omit the name of Sureśvara e.g. Dvādaśavākya-vivaraṇa by Gopala[15] gives the four pupils as Viśvarūpa, Padmanābha, Toṭaka and Hastā.

5. In Saptasūtra-Sannyāsa-paddhati,[16] the four pupils are said to have been Svarupācārya, Padmācārya, Toṭaka and Pṛthvīdhara.

6. Mādhavācārya in his S.Śaṅkara Vijaya, ascribes the two Vārtikas to Viśvarūpa.[17]

7. C.V. Kāvya identifies Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara and makes the former a pupil of Kumārila.

8. The editor of Viśvarūpa's bālakrīda tells us that in a commentary called Vacanamāla on that work,

Sureśvara is bracketed with Manu and Yogiśvara i.e. Yājñavalkya, which shows that according to the commentator, Viśvarūpa, the author of Bālakrīḍā and Sureśvara were identical.

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11. Read :
इत्येव नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धौ ब्रह्मांशैर्ब्रह्मवित्तमैः ।
श्रीमद्भिर्विश्वरूपाख्यैराचार्यैः करुणार्णवैः ॥ Folio 6 of Ms. in Bhau Dāji Colln., Bombay.

12. Read :
विश्वरूपाचार्येण सुरेश्वरापरनाम्ना....'' । Ms. No. 1493 in Bombay University Mss. Library.

13. The Kārikā is :
आम्रे फलार्थे इत्यापि आपस्तम्बस्मृतेर्वचः ।
फलवत्त्वं समाचष्टे नित्यानामपि कर्मणाम् ॥ बृ.वा. ॥ I:1:97.

14. The words are :
''इदं च वाक्यं नित्यकर्मविषयत्वेन वार्तिके विश्वरूपाचार्य उदाजहार ।''

15. Aufracht. Oxf. Catalogue No.557, p.227 b.

16. Mitra's Notices, Vol. VI, p.296.

17. Read the stanza :
इत्थं स उक्तो भगवत्पदेन श्रीविश्वरूपी विदुषां वरिष्ठः ।
चकार भाष्यद्वयवार्तिके द्वे ह्याज्ञा गुरूणामविचारणीया ॥ XIII : 68.

The late Śri Bhāuśāstrin Vaze gives two more arguments to support the above two scholars :

(1) Śṛṅgeri-Guru-Parampara gives the derivation of the name Viśvarūpa, who is referred to as Vārtikācārya.[18]

(2) Śṛṅgeri Pītha is till date, occupied by a celibate and generally by a Dravidian. Maṇḍaṇa was a householder and a northerner (Gauḍa or Maithila).

(3) Maṇḍaṇa was a Sāmavedin according to Maithila pundits while Sureśvara wrote Vārtikas on Br.Up.and Taithi. Up. which belong to Yajurveda. The Mahāvākya 'Aham Brahmāsmi' also pertains to the Yajurveda.

Śri Vaze suggests that for all these reasons, it is unlikely that Maṇḍaṇa and Sureśvara were identical.

Prof. K.P. Subramaniya Śāstrin, in his Foreword to the edition of Brahmasiddhi, makes the following observations on the findings of Prof.K. Śāstrin.

(1) Maṇḍaṇa stands at the head of pre-Śaṅkara Advaitins and his views expressed in Br. Siddhi represent his views before conversion by Śaṅkara. The doctrinal differences are neither so formidable nor so incompatible with Śaṅkara's theories and such differences do not necessarily point to a difference in personalities. Moreover, it is quite possible that after his conversion, his views were changed completely and they were embodied by him in his Vārtikas and Naiṣkarmya-siddhi. Such a phenomenon is explained by having recourse to what Sureśvara is reported by Vyāsācala to have told Śaṅkara, after he wrote his Naiṣkarmyasiddhi.[19]

His reasoning not only explain the conversion in his views but also the position of a sharp opponent and critic taken up by Sureśvara in respect of statements in Br. Siddhi.

(2) As against the points of doctrinal differences between Br. Siddhi and Sureśvara's Saṁbandha-Vārtika, can be put up (and they are actually so put up at the end of the foreword itself) a number of "common features, which are compatible only if the authors of both are identical.

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18. Read the stanza : विश्वं मायामयत्वेन रूपितं यत्प्रबोधतः ।
विश्वं च यत्स्वरूपं तं वार्तिकाचार्यमाग्रये ॥

19. Read : पूर्वं गृही त्वेनव न तत्स्वभावो न बाल्यमन्वेति हि यौवनं तत् ।
न यौवनं वृद्धमुपैति तद्वत् व्रजन् हि पूर्वस्थितिमौज्स्य गच्छेत् ॥
अहं गृही नाऽत्र विचारणीयं किं तेन पूर्वं मन एव हेतुः ।
बन्धेच मोक्षे च मनोविशुद्धो गृही भवेद्वा उत मस्करी वा ॥
पुरा गृहस्थेन मथा प्रवन्धा नैयायिकादौ विहिता महार्थाः ।
नातःपरं मे हृदयं चिकीर्षुः त्वदङ्घ्रिसेवामतिलङ्घ्यकिञ्चित् ॥ व्यासा शं.वि. - VII : 60, 61 & 65.

(3) Maṇḍana (according to Prof.K.P.S. Śāstri) wrote between 615 A.D. and 695 A.D. and Sureśvara between 620 A.D. and 700 A.D. The latter was thus a contemporary of the former but younger by five years only. If so, it is impossible to imagine that the latter would incorporate large extracts from the former without any acknoqledgement, particularly when they were so radically opposed to each other doctrinally.

(4) To explain the differentiation made by G.V.K. between Maṇḍana and Viśvarūpa can be quoted the statement of the late Holiness Śrī Nṛsimha Bhārati Svāmi to the effect that in ancient days, Maṇḍana was merely an honorific title. There were two distinct personalities known by the same title Maṇḍana. One of them lived and died a householder but also had the benefit of Śaṅkara's advice without conversion. The other was also called Viśvarūpa (perhaps that was his real name) who was converted by Śaṅkara into a Sannyāsin and renamed Sureśvara. This second person wrote all the works, including Br. Siddhi. This is the conclusion of Prof. Subramaniya Śāstrin.

It is indeed futile to deny the force of Prof. Kuppuswamy Śāstri's arguments. He seems to show almost conclusively that Maṇḍana in Br. Siddhi actually quotes from Śaṅkara's commentary on Br. Sūtras to make it a Pūrva-pakśa.[20] Sri Vaze also seems to follow Prof. K. Śāstri when he says that Maṇḍana appears to have studied Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya thoroughly. His other evidence also supports Prof. Śāstri's conclusion that Maṇḍana of Br. Siddhi is different from Sureśvara of Vārtikas. Prof. Subramania Śāstri only presumes Maṇḍana's priority in time to Śaṅkara but does not prove it, while Prof. K. Śāstri's view that Maṇḍana wrote Br. Siddhi after seeing Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya, particularly on Br. Sūtras, seems well-supported. Prof. Subr. Śāstri has made no attempt to disprove this thesis. Maṇḍana may well have been prior in time to Śaṅkara i.e. his elder contemporary but that does not necessarily disprove that he wrote Br. Siddhi after seeing Śaṅkara's commentary. Even if we accept that Naiṣkarmyasiddhi was written at Śaṅkara's instance (neither tradition nor the context seems to support this interpretation of the expression 'Guruniyoga'), Br. Siddhi must have been written within about five to ten years of Śaṅkara writing his commentary on the 'Sūtras. Śaṅkara wrote the commentary when he was 16 years of age and converted Sureśvara to his fold within a couple of years. In a short time, thereafter, Sureśvara wrote his Naiṣkarmyasiddhi. After that, establishment of the mutts, ascending the Sarvajña-pītha & c. have taken place. All this was accomplished during the sixteen years after the commentary on the 'Sūtras. And yet, there is nothing inherently impossible in Sureśvara quoting from Br.Siddhi in large extracts, without mentioning his name. There is no rule that the person criticising another very near him in time must do so by naming his specifically. We know that it is almost a universal practice with

20. Read : ''तस्मान्नावगतब्रह्मात्मधायः प्रागिव संसारिधर्मभाक् । यस्तु तथा, नासावावगत ब्रह्मात्भाव इति ॥ ब्रह्मसिद्धि - ब्रह्मकाण्ड p.34 of Government Mss. Library Edition.
तस्मान्नावगतब्रह्मात्मभावस्य यथापूर्वं संसारित्वम् ॥ ब्र.सू.शां.भाष्य - I : 1:4.

the ancients to quote others without naming them. Br. Siddhi itself is an instance in point. It quotes Śaṅkara and criticises him but nowhere mentions him by name. Śaṅkara has referred to so many opinions in his commentaries and has not mentioned anyone beyond Upavarṣa and Bādarāyaṇa. Even so near a figure in time like Gauḍapāda he has not named anywhere. This argument, therefore, of Prof. Subr. Śāstri is not quite to the point or convincing. His quotation from Vyācācala by itself is sufficiently powerful but unless the priority of Maṇḍana's Br. Siddhi to Śaṅkara is established, that quotation as an argument loses its force.

Even though, however, Maṇḍaṇa thus appears to have been different from Sureśvara, it is surprising that Śaṅkara, who came across many opponents whom he vanquished in discussion, opponents among whom must have been some Vedāntins also,[21] did not meet Maṇḍaṇa of Br. Siddha anywhere. Immediately after Śaṅkara wrote his Bhāṣyas, he began to propagate them by coaching up students. Maṇḍaṇa may have come to know Śaṅkara's views in some such process and thoroughly well-read in Pūrva-mināṁsālora as he must have been already, he differed from Śaṅkara on certain points, which he immediately elaborated in the form of his Br. Siddhi. But it is more than likely that Śaṅkara met him at some stage of his triumphant tour and defeated him in argument. Such a course of events was not impossible but it is not described by a single biographer. Even Br. Saras., the most prolific biographer, who narrates in detail, as many as 72 discussions in the second part of his Śaṅkara's biography, makes no reference to this particular encounter. It is quite possible to surmise that because the points of difference were not many and very serious, Śaṅkara did not find it very difficult to overcome him and perhaps that is precisely why the older biographers like Ānantānandagiri, Vyāsācala and Cidvilasa dispose of this contest comparatively very briefly. It is only a few late writers like Mādhava, Sadānanda and Bāla Gopāla, that dilate upon the discussion between these two thinkers. This inference is further strengthened by the fact that though, as Prof. Kuppu. Śāstry maintains, Maṇḍaṇa boldly differs from Śaṅkara and argues like an independent thinker in the field of Advaita philosophy, he had not followed Śaṅkara's views properly, particularly with regard to Jñāna-karma-samuccaya, Jñāna resulting from Śabda, Jivanmukti & c. Even today, we shall find that much of what passes as criticism of Śaṅkara's views on Jñāna, Karman, Sannyāsa & c. is not quite correct because it is rooted in a basic misunderstanding of Śaṅkara's writings. It may be, as the later Lok. Tilak said, that Śaṅkara put a little more stress on Sannyāsa than otherwise but that was a result of the times he lived in and also of the exigencies of the situation. This acceptance, however, need not make us believe that he ruled out Karman altogether from the path of spiritual discipline for the common man and advocated renunciation for all and sundry. He did recognise the importance of Karman but also its limits. "यदहरेव विरजेत्,....." was meant for exceptional cases, only as a matter of possibility, while for the ordinary man, he did hold

21. Compare his reference to certain persons as 'अस्मदीयाश्च केचित्' I : I :ब्र.सू..

Karmas as useful for purification of the mind. This purification, properlly understood, is no mean stage in the path of spiritual practice but represents a sufficientlly high degree of development. Maṇḍana had missed such finer aspects of his theory and, therefore, had differed from him in the beginning and brought out his Br. Siddhi. This explains why he was called 'devoid of Guru-sampradāya. When, however, the two actually met in argument, Śaṅkara, perhaps, did not have to strain himself much to convince Maṇḍana of what he had said in his commentaries or Bhāṣyas. Most naturally, Śaṅkara converted him to his own fold and then asked him to cancel his own discordant notes by striking new ones, and Maṇḍana now Sureśvara, did it by writing his celebrated Naiṣkarmya-siddhi. This will explain why he incorporates large extracts from Br.Siddhi without acknowledgement and also why Maṇḍana's support was cited by others wherever it was not opposed to Śaṅkara's view. The main difficulty is that we do not know definitely and authoritatively what exactly transpired between the two when they fell to discussion. No reliable account of their discussion is available today and whatever is found given by Mādhava and Sadānanda is not very much beyond doubt. The theory that 'Karman is Brahman' as referring to the Mimāṁsakas, holds the ground a little too much even today but at least Kumārila, Prabhākara and even Maṇḍana, do not seem to equate Karman and Brahman and rule out consideration of Mokṣa, Jñāna &c. altogether. In fact, both Kumārila and Prabhākara seem to favour some kind of Jñāna-karma-samuccaya and Maṇḍana followed them. The main difference was that these Mimāṁsakas stressed Karman more while Śaṅkara stressed Jñāna and Sannyāsa more. In all the biographies, Kumārila almost seems to approve of Śaṅkara's commentary on Br. Sutras, which had reached his ears already. According to Citsukha, Prabhākara argued with Śaṅkara mainly on the point of relation of Jñāna and Karman and when he was satisfied, gave up his theories, his works and even his āśrama. There is no wonder if the same thing was repeated in Maṇḍana's case, who also gave up his old views, even to the extent of criticising them very severely.

This theory is put forward only tentatively and is subject to alteration and/or modification if and when clearer and more reliable evidence comes to light.

Alternatively, it is quite possible to suggest that there were two Maṇḍanas, one who wrote the Mīmāṁsa works like Vidhi-Viveka & c. and the other who wrote the Advaitic work Br. Siddhi. The first Maṇḍana was engaged in a discussion with Śaṅkara, was converted by him to Sannyāsa and then wrote Naiṣkarmya Siddhi at Śaṅkara's instance, as a set off to Br. Siddhi. This supposition will also explain the difficulties in the way of Maṇḍana - Sureśvara identity. This theory is also supported by the fact that Sureśvara quotes from and criticises Br. Siddhi only and not any of the other works and thus may be said to look upon the two as the works of distinct authors, though this singling out by Sureśvara of Br. Siddhi for criticism can be explained by saying that Naiṣkarmya Siddhi dealt with topics which were mainly connected with what was contained in Br. Siddhi and hence

Sureśvara criticised that work alone and not the others.

This alternative can be said to derive support from the biographers also, if they are to be believed. All of them, who give anything like an account of the discussion between Maṇḍana and Śaṅkara are agreed that Maṇḍana was a dualist or bhedavādin and contested Śaṅkara's theory of the identity of the individual and the supreme souls. Maṇḍana, who wrote Br.Siddhi wa an Advaitin and hence different from the dualist Maṇḍana.

In both these alternatives, it has been presumed that it was Maṇḍana and not Viśvarupa, who subsequently became Sureśvara. The position, therefore, in respect of the second set of arguments has to be explained.

It is quite true that a host of later writers refer to Sureśvara as if he were Viśvarupa when he was a householder. But all these writers are very late in time in relation to Śaṅkara and Sureśvara. The earliest of them is removed by some centuries. And it is a well known phenomenon that once a tradition, right or wrong, is set afloat, even great scholars follow it blindly. The truth of this statement has been demonstrated in Chapter - V, while discussing Śaṅkara's date. We should not be surprised to find this phenomenon in the 14th and the 15th centuries. It is the sad experience in respect of writers of the past that not one of them takes pains to verify any such statement at any stage. The story of Śaṅkara's life also has suffered on account of this draw-back. Once, therefore, some person said that Viśvarūpa was the other name of Sureśvara when he was a householder, others followed suit. Writers like Mādhava and Ṣādananda tried to equate Maṇḍana and Viśvarūpa and thus Sureṣvara in different ways. The statement of Sadā.[22] in this regard is worthy of particular note. According to him, Viśvarūpa was his first name but later, he got the title Maṇḍana.[23]

Secondly, as many as six biographers refer only to Maṇḍana and not to Viśvarūpa at all. Among these six, are two of the oldest ones, viz., Anantānandagiri and Cidvilāsa. Anantā has followed Pr.S. Vijaya of Ānandagiri while Cidvilāsa has followed Citsukha's work to a considerable extent. Out of the rest, even Mādhava, Sadānanda and Parameśvara give his name as Maṇḍana also[24] while only three writers viz., Vyā., Raja.D. and G.V.K. clearly distinguish between Maṇḍana and Viśvarūpa. Out of these three also, Śṛṅgeri Swamy's explanation for the statement in G.V.K. has already been noted.

We, therefore, have the testimony of as many as ten biographers that Sureśvara was

22. Vide this "शं.दि.सार" - II : 72.

23. In this connection, compare the statement of Śṛṅgeri Swamy noted already.

24. It is worth noting that Mādhava gives both the names Maṇḍana and Viśvarūpa anomalously. A closer examination of his work, of Vyā.'s Ś.V. and Tiru D.'s Śaṅkarābhyudaya, will reveal that where Mādhava calls him Maṇḍana, he has quoted Tiru D. verbatim and where he calls him Viśvarūpa, he is quoting Vyā. verbatim. He seems to have no opinion of his own. Tiru D. refers to Maṇḍana only.

called Maṇḍana during his Pūrvāśrama. Even the Gururatnamālika and Suṣamā, which have followed Br̥.Ś.V. and Pr.Ś.V. of Citsukha and Ānandagiri respectively, mention the name of Maṇḍana alone and nowhere refer to Viśvarūpa as having been vanquished by Śaṅkara in argument.

Citsukha is the only person to tell us that Maṇḍana and Viśvarūpa were brothers, that Maṇḍana became Sureśvara while Viśvarūpa, renamed Brahmasvarūpācārya after Sannyāsa, was placed by Śaṅkara in charge of the Dwārka Mutt as its first ācārya. Due to subsequent identification of Maṇḍana and Viśvarūpa, Dwārka mutt must have begun to claim Sureśvara as their first ācārya. The very fact that the first ācārya of Dwārka mutt was called Brahmasvarūpācārya, is sufficient to show that he could not have been Sureśvara. Sureśvara was the name given after Sannyāsa and so also was the name Brahmasvarūpācārya, for the purpose of placing him in charge of the mutt. If Sureśvara had become Brahmasvarūpa, we shall be landed in an absurd proposition that Sureśvara was once more renamed by Śaṅkara as Br. Svarūpa. There seems to be solid truth in what Citsukha tells us about Maṇḍana and Viśvarūpa. This will automatically cancel the Kārika appearing in Śr̥ṅgeri Guru-Paramparā and purporting to derive the name Viśvarūpa. The Guru-parambarā is evidently of a late origin though the mutt itself was established by Śaṅkara. The Kārikā was evidently written on the assumption that Viśvarūpa was Sureśvara, who was claimed as its first ācārya. But we have it on hte authority of Citsukha, Ānandagiri and other works like the oft-quoted Maṭhāmnāya that the first ācārya at Śr̥ṅgeri was Pr̥thvidhara or Hastāmalaka, a celibrate and not Sureśvara. This will obviate all the doubts raised by Śri Vaze in this connection.



According to Prof. Kuppu Śāstry, Appayyā Dixit was aware that the Vārtikas and Br. Siddhi were written by two different persons. Yet he notices the fact that in his Siddhānta-leśa-saṁgraha, the first half of a verse from Br. Siddhi is quoted as from Vārtika and his commentator Acyutakr̥ṣṇānanda Tīrtha assumes that Sureśvara was the author of this stanza. Credit goes to Prof.K. Śāstri for his honesty in pointing out this discordant fact but it is clear that he finds it very hard to explain it away. His plea that, perhaps, it is a scribal error is a stock explanation in such cases and is without force. Further, he says that A. Dixit wrote a complete commentary on the Kalpataru of Amlānanda, who, Dixit must have been very well aware, believed that Br. Siddhi was written after Śaṅkara's commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras and that Maṇḍana criticised Śaṅkara on certain points. In the light of what has been said above in this regard, it is difficult to understand why it must be inferred that Appayya Dixit also believed in the separate authorship of Vārtikas and Br. Siddhi. He might even have been aware, as Prof. K. Śāstry maintains, that Sureśvara's works were based on Śaṅkara's works and that Maṇḍana represented a different prasthana, and yet

could have believed in the identity of authorship of the two works. Br. Siddhi was written after Śaṅkara and hence it criticised Śaṅkara and became known as a separate prasthāna, while Vārtikas were written after conversion and hence were solely based on Śaṅkara's works and criticised the views expressed in Br. Siddhi. Even if the theory of two Maṇḍana is accepted, Viśvarūpa need not come into the picture, later to become Sureśvara at the hands of Śaṅkara.

Similarly, the last explanation he gives for "इत्यादिवार्तिकथिरोध:" goes against his stand. He says : "this expression has to be explained by understanding A. Dixit to mean that the idea contained in Maṇḍana's text is in agreement with Sureśvara's view, as expressed in his Vārtika and any conflict with this idea would amount to conflict with the Vārtika." The last sentence seems clearly to show that according Ap.Dixit, any such conflict is undesirable, because perhaps he believed the two writers to be the same. Anyhow, it seems quite clear that even according to Prof. K. Śāstry, this passage is capable of such an interpretation which he tries hard to fight.

Then again, according to Prof. K. Śāstry, Sureśvara as Viśvarūpa was a disciple of Kumārila but Maṇḍana was not. He has, however, not brought forward even a single piece of evidence to prove this thesis. It seems that Maṇḍana's being called devoid of Guru-Sampradāya, refers only to the Advaitic doctrine - that is the context of the reference - and not to the Mīmāṁsa study.

According to Dr. Kane, Sureśvara refers to Kumārila as "मीमांसकंमन्य"[25] rather a disrespectful term to be used, with reference to one's one time preceptor. His conclusion, therefore, is that from this it seems unlikely that Sureśvara was ever a pupil of Kumārila.[26]

According to him, Viśvarūpa became Sureśvara. The net result of the arguments of these two scholars is that neither Maṇḍana, nor Viśvarūpa was ever a pupil of Kumārila. Tradition, as recorded in all the biographies from that of Citsukha down to that of Vallīsahāya, maintains, without exception, that Sureśvara as a house holder, whether Maṇḍana or Viśvarūpa, was a pupil of Kumārila, who directed Śaṅkara to him.

Dr. Kane's one more conclusion is open to objection. Onlyl one work Bālakrīḍā by Viśvarūpā proper, has come down to us so far. His views, therefore, on different topics have to be gathered from this one work alone. Dr. Kane writes the following regarding Viśvarūpa's views on philosophy.[27]

"Though Viśvarūpa was a past master in the Pūrvamīmāṁsa lore, his philosophical

25. Read :
मोक्षार्थी न प्रवर्तेत तत्र काम्यनिषिद्धयो: ।....जिहासया ॥ इति मीमांसकंमन्यै: कर्मोक्तं मोक्षसाधनम् ॥ तै.उप. भाष्यवार्तिक 1:9:10 श्लोकवार्तिक सम्बन्धाक्षेपपरिहार - St.110.
26. Vide p.262 of History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol.I and p.206 of JBBRAS - Vol.I, 1925.
27. Vide his History of Dharmaśāstra - Vol. I, p.256.

views seem to have been identical with those of Śaṅkara. According to him, Mokṣa results from correct knowledge alone and the whole Saṁsāra is due to Avidyā. He quotes annonymously one of Gauḍdpāda's Kārikas (III:5) on Yājña - III : 134."

Dr. Kane has quoted from Bālakr̄iḍā, some passages in connection with the statements made above. The very first sentence in the first passage says that "it has already been said that for liberation (only) renunciation is useful and Karma serves on purpose there."[28] From this it is clear that according to Viśvarūpa, renunciation was absolutely necessary for attaining liberation and Karman had no place in it and that Mokṣa resulted from knowledge alone. The words "it has already been said" show that he has said so somewhere else already. Prof. Kuppu. Śāstry also seems to be thoroughly acquainted with Bālakrīdā of Viśvarūpa and hence with its contents also. He, therefore, can be presumed to have been aware of these views of Viśvarūpa also. Now the point is; if these were the views of Viśvarūpa and if, as Dr. Kane states, there was no difference whatever between him and Śaṅkar, what was all the vaunted discussion about? It is admitted that no biographer gives any correct account of the actual discussion but there is absolute unanimity of oral and written tradition that there was some high-pitched discussion between Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana or Viśvarūpa and we can easily surmise from the history of Mīmāṁsa and Śaṅkara's commentaries on the prasthanatraya that it must have centred on such topics as Jñāna and Karman, Sannyāsa as a necessary precedent condition of attaining liberation and the like. If, however, there was no difference on these points between Viśvarūpa and Śaṅkara, the very basis of the discussion is taken away. The question of Viśvarūpa becoming Sureśvara is then automatically ruled out. On the contrary, good ground is exhibited by Maṇḍana's views for such discussion and then the further process, already explained, becomes easily understood.

It is even possible to detect something in Viśvarūpa, who is likely to have supplied Maṇḍana with his Pūrvapakṣa re: ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चय We should particularly note the portion relating to the nature of Avidyā तत्त्वाग्रहणनिमितो विपर्यास[29] &c. and compare it with the second sentence in the first passage quoted by Dr. Kane.[30] It is not unlikely that Maṇḍana used Viśvarūpa's views for putting up his Pūrvapakṣa. It is even possible that there was some other work also, which propounded views similar to those of Viśvarūpa and Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana used that work. Some work by Sundara Pāṇḍya Ācārya is believed by scholars to have existed and Śaṅkara's three stanzas at the end of his commentary on Br.Sūtra I:1:4 are generally believed to have been taken from his work. That work is most likely to have propounded identical views with Śaṅkara. Another work, viz., Kārikas written by Draviḍāvārya

28. Read : "अपवर्गार्थं हि पारिव्राज्यं न तत्र कर्मणा प्रयोजनमित्युक्तमेव ॥
विश्वरूप बालक्रोडा on याज्ञ - III : 66.

29. Vide Br. Siddhi - p.12.

30. Read : तत्त्वाऽग्रहणात्मकेन अविद्योत्थत्वाल्प्रपञ्चस्यैवमादि चोधानयकांश एव ।
तत्त्वेन ब्रह्मणो नान्यद्वस्त्वन्तरमस्तीति ब्रह्मविदां स्थितिः ॥ चिश्व, बालक्रीडा याज्ञ on III : 36.

- surmised to be the same as Gauḍapāda - on Vedānta Sūtras are believed to exist even today in Dwāraka mutt library. Rāja Bahadur Lālā Baij Nātha in his work on Hinduism refers to these Kārikas and ascribes them to Draviḍācārya. Similarly, Pandit Vindhyeśvara Prasada Dvivedi, in his preface to Vedānta-pārijāta-Saurabha, a commentary on Vedāntasūtras by Nimbārka, refers to these Kārikas as by Gauḍapāda, older than Śaṅkara's commentary.[31] From what we know of Gauḍapāda's views on matters of philosophy, from his famous Māṇḍukya-kārikās, it can easily be surmised that his views in these Kārikas also were just what Śaṅkara later on presented is his own commentary on the Vedānta-Sūtra. Another commentary on the Br. Sūtras by Bhartṛhari or Bhartṛprapañca, who definitely preceded Śaṅkara, is known to have been written. It is, therefore, likely that the views expressed in one or more of thtese commentaries supplied Maṇḍana with his Pūrva-pakṣas at different places in his Br. Siddhi.

It is, therefore, submitted that it was Maṇḍana who discussed with Śaṅkara, was converted by him to Sannyāsa and who wrote Naiṣkarmya siddhi and Vārtikas and not Viśvarūpa, who was a different person, perhaps Maṇḍana's brother as suggessted by Citsukha. This Maṇḍana must have been Kumārila's pupil but once he was convinced by Śaṅkara of his own views, he criticised Kumārila sharply, even to the point of being a little disrespectful and perhaps his own views also, with a fervour which baffles us even today. If we accept the theory of two Maṇḍanas, the latter of these two statements can be ignored without any damage to the main thesis.

Another little point needs to be settled before going over to the Maṇḍana-story proper.

Rāja.D. tells us[32] that Maṇḍana alias Viśvarūpa was known in the world by the name Ambaka and his wife Ambā. Mādhava repeats these two lines with the difference that in place of Ambaka and Ambā he employs the names Umaka and Umvā respectively.[33] The commentator Dhanapati of Madhava's work says that Umveka and Umvā were the prākṛta names of Maṇḍana and his wife Sarasvati.[34] According to Dr. Jhā also, Maṅḍana and Umveka are identical persons.[35] Dr. Kane holds them to be different persons. This brings forward another problem regarding the identity of Maṇḍana and Umveka.

Umveka has written commentaries on Śloka Vārtika of Kumārila and Bhāvanā-Viveka of Maṇḍana. This will mean that Maṇḍana wrote a commentary on his own work. Śri V.N.

31. Read : गौडपादीति प्रसिद्धं कारिकाबद्धं गौडपादाचार्यकृतं शारीरकसूत्रभाष्य शङ्करभाष्यात्पुरातनं वर्तते ॥.
32. Read :
अंबेक इत्यभिहितस्य हितस्य लोके । अम्बेति वान्धवजनैरभिधीयमाना ॥ - II : 41 शं.म्यु..
33. Vide his सं.शं.जय - VII : 116.
34. Read : 'एतेन'' ''उंबेक'' ''उम्बा'' इति मण्डनसरस्वत्योः प्राकृतं नाम कथितमिति बोध्यम् ॥ Comm. on S.Śaṅkara Vijaya - VII : 116. In the footnotes at the end of the page (593 आनन्द्राश्रम Idn.), the variants for these two names have been given as उंबेक and उम्बा resp.
35. Vide his introduction to Maṇḍana's Bhāvanā-Viveka.

Śāstrin, however, disposes of this argument by saying that if Naiṣkarmya siddhi is to be believed. Maṇḍana was in the habit of writing commentaries on his own works and might have done so in the case of Bhāvanā-Viveka also. The two, therefore, are identical.

Guṇaratna, in his Tarkarahasyadipikā, gives the following stanza :

ओम्वेकः कारिकां वैत्ति तन्त्रं वेत्ति प्रभाकरः ।
मण्डनस्तूभयं वेति न किञ्चिदपि रेवणः ॥

In place of Maṇḍana and Tantra, variant readings are given as Vāmana and Campu. The south Indian version and the version in Guṇaratna's work is as above. The context of Mīmāṁsa also seems to favour the words Tantra and Maṇḍana and this clearly establishes that Maṇḍana and Umveka were two independent persons and not identical.

A more conclusive proof of the difference is afforded by another piece of evidence. Bhāvanā-Viveka has the कारिका :- करणं खलु सर्वत्र कर्तृव्यापारगोचरः । तिरोदधाति कर्तारं प्रधानं तन्निनन्धनम् Commenting on this Kārikā, Umveka says that प्राधान्यं तन्निबन्धनादिति तु समीचीनः पाठः । : This theory of a variant reading can be understood only on the assumption that Maṇḍana and Umveka were different persons. If Maṇḍana had been his own commentator, the question of a pāthāntara would not have arisen. This evidence therefore clearly and conclusively establishes the distribution between the two. Dr. Kane and Prof. Kuppu Śāstry also hold the same view and it is needless to pursue it any further.

A third identification of Bhavabhūti and Sureśvara has to be considered. It arises thus : Viśvarūpa's Bālakrīdā has three commentaries on it. Out of them, two seem to favour this identification. The commentary Vibhāvana says :

यत्प्रसादादयं लोको धर्ममार्गस्थितः सुखो ।
भवभूतिसुरेशाख्यं विश्वरूपं प्रणम्य तम् ॥ [36]

The commentary Vacanamāla writes :

भवभूतिनिबन्धनोदधौ तिमिमीमप्रतिवादिके गुरोः ।
सकटाक्षनिरीक्षणप्लवं पतितं मामयमुद्धरिष्यति ॥[37]

The first of these identifies Bhavabhūti, Sureśvara and Viśvarūpa. The second identifies Sureśvara and Viśvarūpa, as stated already.[38] The tradition which identifies Maṇḍana and Umveka is already noted. One more tradition identifies Bhavabhūti and Umveka.[39].

36. Vide - JBBRAS - Vol. III - pp.289 to 293.

37. Vide Dr. Kane's History of Dharmaśāstra - Vol. I, p.262, F.N. 549.

38. Vide the stanza : अवनम्य मनुसुरेश्वरयोगीश्वर तीव्रकिरणगुरुचरणात् ।
शास्त्राणां व्याकर्तृन् कर्तृनपि देवताः निखिलाः ॥

If we are to believe all these commentaries, we shall have to admit that one single person bore five names, viz., Bhavabhūti, Maṇḍana, Viśvarūpa, Umveka and Sureśvara, a thesis which even Dr. Kane looks upon as absurd. Four of these are well-known Mīmāṁsakas and one a famous dramatist. It is left to scholars to decide whether, following commentators, who can never claim from us much respect for their authenticity in matters of history, we should accept the identity of Bhavabhūti and Sureśvara. Bhavabhūti speaks of his proficiency in many sciences like Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Vedānta but nowhere refers to Mīmāṁsā nor is he known to have written any work on that subject and similarly Sureśvara is not reported by anyone to have exerted himself in the field of poetry and drama. The identification therefore of Bhava. and Sureśvara can be dismissed as unfounded and this takes us to the Maṇḍana-episode proper.

Maṇḍana or Maṇḍanamiśra, as he was called, was a householder. He is said to have been an aṁśa of Brahmā. He is generally referred to Magadha or Mahiṣmati. Anantānandagiri says he came from Udag-deśa and gives the name of his place as Vijilabindu. Vallīsahāya follows him. Cidvilasa clearly says that he lived in Kashmir and gives the name of his place as Vijilabindu. Br. Saras. follows Cidvilāsa. The sources of Anantānandagiri and Cidvilāsa are Anandagiri and Citsukha respectively, whom they seem to have followed in this particular respect. The appendage Miśra also seems to indicate that he belonged to Kashmir. Acyutarāya Modak, while commenting on Chapter III of Mādhava's S.Śaṅkara Jaya, twice refers Maṇḍana to Kāshmir by name.[40] Moreover, Śaṅkara's visit to Kāśmīr is borne out by all the biographers but generally in connection with Ṣarvajña-pītha. There are, however, biographers like Govindanātha, Cidvilāsa, Rāja. D. and Br. Saras, who hold that the said seat was at Kāncī. I am going to show in a later chapter that this seems to be the correct location of the seat. Śaṅkara's visit, therefore, to Kāśmīr must have been in some different connection, which was to see Maṇḍana. Maṇḍana, therefore, seems to have belonged to Kāśmīr and not to Magadha or Māhiṣmati.

Anantānandagiri, Cidvilāsa and Vallī, give a very graphic description of Maṇḍana's house, which they mention by the name Vidyālaya. He was well-versed in various sciences, particularly Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā and had acquired great fame for his scholarship.

Maṇḍana's wife was variously known as Bhārati, Ubhayabhārati, Vāṇī or Sarasvati, as given by the different biographers.[41] She is said to have been Brahma's wife Sarasvati,

39. This theory is based on two factors :
    (i) The well-known passage from Citsukha's Tattvapradīpikā - there is, however, not even a sembalance of a suggestion from Citsukha that identity of Bhavabhūti and Umveka is intended to be conveyed. On the contrary, the wording seems to be right against any such interpretation. Yet the commentary नयनप्रसादिनी says "भवभूतिरुम्वेकः" and all people have toed its line.
    (ii) The colophon found in a solitary ms. of Mālati Mādhava - Act III.

40. Read : preface to Stanza 18 of Chapter - III :
अथ सा काश्मीरदेशमूपगत्वेन मण्डनमिश्रापराभियं विश्वरूपशर्माणम्... ॥ Comm. on III : 33- "राजगेहात् - काश्मीरेश्वरगृहात् ॥".

born on earth. A story is told by about half the biographers that once, in the assembly of the Gods, the fiery sage Durvāsa made some mistake in the course of reciting the Vedas and Sarasvati laughed at the mistake. Enraged by this, the sage cursed her to be born on earth but on being propitiated by her said that when Lord Śiva, born on earth as Śaṅkarācārya, would defeat her husband Maṇḍana, she would be freed from the curse and return to her heavenly abode. According to some, the curse was pronounced by her husband Brahmā. In accordance with the curse, she was born as Bhāratī. She is generally believed to have belonged to the land of the Śoṇa river and her father's name is given as Viṣṇumitra. Writers like Sadānanda and Nīlakantha do not mention the name of the father while Nīla. does not refer to the Śona-river also. Biographers tell us that even as she was born, she was conversant with-nay thoroughly proficient in-all branches of learning.

Maṇḍana and Bhārati heard each other's fame and developed a great longing to see and marry each other. Their longing began to tell upon their health and ultimately, their parents suspected that there was something wrong with them. Vyāsācala and Madhava say that Maṇḍana's father asked him about it and on coming to know the reason thereof, sent messengers to the girl's parents asking for their girl in marriage for Maṇḍana. Ultimately, the marriage was settled and celebrated with great eclat and Bhāratī went to stay with Maṇḍana. From that time onwards, the two were living together as husband and wife till the time Śaṅkara went to their house.

This is, in brief, the previous story of Maṇḍana and Bhārati, as narrated by about seven biographers. Some writers like Rāja. D. and Nīlakaṇṭha deal with it very much in brief while Vyāsācala and Mādhava do so at great length. Sadānanda stands midway. There is also some difference in the stage at which this story - of marriage in particular - is narrated. Vyā. and Govinda, narrate it just when Śaṅkara went to their house while Cidvilāsa puts it in the mouth of Kumārila, who narrates it to Śaṅkara. Mādhava, Sadānanda and Nīlankaṇtha give the story at the beginning, at the time of describing the births of all the gods, including that of Lord Śiva and Śaṅkara. This is regarding those who narrate it. As many as seven writers,[42] however, omit the story altogether. We can conclude from the story that both Maṇḍana and Bhāratī were very learned persons and their fame had spread far and wide. It was quite natural that either their respective parents or their friends should bring them together in permanent union and that led to the marriage. It is indeed surprising to find that writers like Vyāsācala, who could supply so much interesting information about their marriage, say nothing about their parents or their progeny or any other particulars pertaining to either.

According to six biographers,[43] Śaṅkara went direct to Maṇḍana's place by the

41. Vide Mādhava - III : 77 (उभयभारती) III : 78 (भारती); (व्यासा) VI : 9 (उभयभारती) व्यासा गोविन्दनाथ and ([illegible]) V : 31 each (भारती); परमेश्वर-वाणी, & c.

42. Viz. अनन्तानन्दगिरि, तिरुमलदीक्षित, गुरुवंशकाव्य, परमेश्वर, ब्रह्मा, सरस्वती, बालगोपालयति & वल्लीसहाय

aerial path by means of his yogic powers. Maṇḍana had just finished his mid-day ritual (there was no Śrāddha-ceremony) and was waiting for some guest (atithi), when he suddenly saw Śaṅkara dropping down before him from the air. He welcomed him very gladly and after he worshipped him, his wife came out and offered him Bhikṣā. Śaṅkara accepted it but would not drink the water. Maṇḍana was puzzled and asked him what else he could do for him. He promised to do everything possible and Śaṅkara asked him to argue with him. Maṇḍana readily agreed and placing his wife in the Judge's chair and stipulating that the vanquished should adopt the victor's mode of life, they started discussion. Maṇḍana's wife did not stop there. She placed one garland each round the necks of both, decreeing that he, whose garland would fade, should be considered defeated and herself went away to attend to her household duties. The discussion went on for six days and on the seventh day, Maṇḍana capitulated to Śaṅkara. Except Tiru. D. and Bāla Gopāla, none of the six biographers tell us what exactly passed between Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana. They simply say that Maṇḍana's garland faded away and seeing that, his wife immediately disappeared. Maṇḍana then gave up his householder's life and became a sannyāsin. He was renamed Sureśvara by Śaṅkara, who also initiated him into the mysteries of Advaita and made him a self-realised person.

Against this version, we have that of eight other biographers, who give a very graphic description of how Śaṅkara went to Maṇḍana's house and of their initial spirited exchanges.

When Śaṅkara, with his disciples like Padmapāda came to the village where Maṇḍana lived, he took bath in the river and performed daily duties. On their way back, they met some ladies, generally described as maidservants from Maṇḍana's house. Śaṅkara asked them the whereabouts of Maṇḍana's house and they answered poetically which has been immortalised by biographers like Mādhava in stanzas like :[44]

स्वतः प्रमाणं परतः प्रमाणं कीराङ्गना यत्र गिरो भिरन्ति ।
द्वारस्थनीडान्तरपञ्जरस्य जानीहि तन्मण्डनपण्डितौकः ॥

The stanzas are not the same in all the works but the substance is the same and can be summarised in one stanza :[45]

यद्वीथिकाद्वारनिबद्धकीरैरारादधिष्ठाय परस्परेण ।
विधीयते शास्त्रकथाप्रसङ्गो जानीहि तन्मण्डनमिश्रसझ ॥

Here also, the actual signs may be different in different works but the main pattern followed is what is contained in this stanza. Thus, we find that Cidvilāsa describes the birds as chanting mantras from Vadas and reciting stanzas from Kāvyas in addition to discussions on topics of the Śāstras. Mādhava, and following him Sadānanda, Parameśvara

43. Viz., व्यासाचल, गोविन्दनाथ, तिरुमलदीक्षित, राजचूडा; दीक्षित, गुरुवंशकाव्य, & बालगोपालयति.
44. Vide Mādhava's S.Śaṅkara Vijaya - VIII : 6.
45. Vide Cidvilāsa's Ś.V. Vilasa - XVII : 23.

and Nīlakaṇṭha describe the birds as discussing only. Br. Saras. follows Cidvilāsa and according to both these writers, Śaṅkara is given this information by some brahmin, who describes Maṇḍana's house also in great details.

Following the signs, Śaṅkara, with his disciples, went ahead and finally reached Maṇḍana's house, only to find that the main entrance was closed. Śaṅkara asked his disciples to remain outside and himself, by means of his Yogic powers, went inside and found Maṇḍana busy, performing some Śrāddha-ceremony, with Vyāsa and Jaimini as his priests. When Maṇḍana saw Śaṅkara dropping into his inner house in the midst of his ceremony, he became enraged and put some questions to Śaṅkara. Śaṅkara deliberately twisted the questions and then answered Them. The exchanges are too well-known to need repetition.[46] All the eight biographers repeat this version in varying poetry. Ultimately, Vyāsa, intervened and pointed out to Maṇḍana the impropriety of treating an atithi - particularly a Yati - in that way and advised him to offer him proper worship and Bhikṣā. Maṇḍana realised his mistake and obeyed Vyāsa. Śaṅkara told him that he had come for a discussion. Maṇḍana was surprised but consented to start after his ceremony was over.

Bāla Gopāla's version in this respect is somewhat different. Maṇḍana made a few sharp exchanges with Śaṅkara but very quickly realised his mistake and requested him to accept Bhikṣā. Otherwise he was all humility and courtesy to Śaṅkara. He was not performing any ceremony nor were Vyāsa and Jaimini present in the house. When Śaṅkara asked for a discussion, Maṇḍana adduced some reasons to show that it should not take place between a householder and a Yati and so Śaṅkara should not ask for it. Śaṅkara, however, answer his objections by saying that the discussion was necessary for removing the egotism, born of ignorance. Maṇḍana gives in and the discussion starts.

According to some, Maṇḍana and Śaṅkara decided to commence the discussion after the ceremony was over and they had taken food while according to others, it commenced the next day, when a large audience also gathered to listen to the same. Maṇḍana requested Vyāsa to become the judge but Vyāsa pointed to Bhāratī and then both Vyāsa and Jaimini disappeared. Then, both Maṇḍana and Śaṅkara placed Bharati in the Judge's chair. After she had placed the garlands round their necks as before and gone back to her duties, each of them pronounced his stand or pratijñā and both agreed that at the end of the discussion, the defeated should adopt the victor's mode of life.[47]

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46. Read :

कुतो मुण्डयागलान्मुण्डी पन्थास्ते पृच्छ्येत् मया ।
किसाह पन्थास्त्वन्माता मुण्डेत्याह तथैव हि ॥
अहो पीता किमु सुरा नैव श्वेता यतः स्मर ॥
किं त्वं जानासि तद्वर्णं, अहं वर्णं भवान् रसम् ॥ माधव सं.शं.जय VIII : 16 & 18.

Śaṅkara's **stand** was that Sat, Cit, Amala Brahman was the only transcendental Reality but appeared as the universe on account of the ignorance, even as the conch-shell appears as silver. By the knowledge of that Reality, all the universe melted away into nothingness and that was Mokśa. The Vedānta supported this thesis.

Maṇḍana's stand was that the Upaniṣads or the Vedāntas did not disclose any such transcendental Brahman. All word was related to action and everything that did not lay down action directly was subservient to injunctions which laid down some action. Liberation resulted from Karmas alone, which had to be performed till the end of one's life.

Here also, even though the wording may be different, the substance is common, to the other biographers also who give it. At this stage, all the biographers remain silent. Not one of them tells us what happened during the first six days. There are only five or six writers[48] in all, who wake up after six days and give some details of the discussion on the seventh day and onwards. But, of these five or six, Mādhava repeats Tiru D. and has not a word of his own in the matter and Br. Saras. follows Cidvilāsa. We are practically left with only three persons. Bāla - Gopāla is the fourth person and his account is quite detailed but breaks off in the middle, the manuscript of his work being incomeplete thereafter. It is needless to give these discussions in details. It is sufficient to note the points only, made out by the four biographers.

(1) Cidvilāsa and Br. Saras principally deal with Śaṅkara's theory of Sannyāsa as a means of attaining liberation. Maṇḍana questions its validity in the Kali Age, in which it is one of the five things considered prohibited. He holds that performance of Karmas is essential and that alone, performed without desire for fruit will lead to Mokṣa. Śaṅkara points out the well-known sentence यदहरेव विरजेत् as being applicable to those who have attained Vairagya. Knowledge attained in consequence of it clears up all defects resulting from non-performance of karmas. Moreover, karmas are jaḍa and cannot lead to knowledge, which alone leads to liberation. Both these biographers tell us that the discussion ended on the 18th day.

(2) Bāla Gopāla's account makes out only one point, viz., necessity of karmas in addition to knowledge. According to Maṇḍana, Karma are required to be performed to avoid the pratyavāya - defect, while knowledge is necessary for liberation. Karmas should be performed without desire for fruit. Śaṅkara's answer is that karma leads to qualification for knowledge ज्ञानाधिकार through

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47. Read :

(1) जैत्राश्रमाभ्युपगमे पणबन्धभाजौ ॥ G.V.K. - II : 53.

(2) जेतुः पराजित इहाऽश्रममाददीते ।
त्येतौ मिथः कृपपणौ यतिविश्वरूपौ ॥ राज.दी. II : 48 & माधव VIII : 66.

48. Cidvilāsa, Tiru. Dixit, Mādhava, Sadānanda, Parameśvara, Br. Saras).

purification of mind and knowledge alone leads to liberation. Karma is only indirectly a means of liberation while knowledge is a direct one. Pratyavāya exists in the ego-sense कर्तत्वबुद्धि behind karmas. Knowledge removes that ego-sense and hence no pratyavāya - defect-attaches to the Jñānin. Karma is rooted in nescience, which is born of ego-sense. So long as nescience continues, man remains bound to karma (कर्माधिकारी). When that nescience is destroyed by knowledge, no necessity of performing karma remains.

(3) Mādhava, following Tiru. D., gives only one point of discussion viz., identity of the individual soul and the supreme soul, postualted by Śaṅkara. Maṇḍana says that it has no authority in the Upaniṣads. Śaṅkara points out the Mahāvākya, "Tat tvam asi - that thou art" as the authority. Then a discussion ensues on the interpretation of that sentence, Maṇḍana maintaining that it does not prove Śaṅkara's thesis and Śaṅkara holding that it does. Maṇḍana proposes many alternative interpretations but has to give in. Then he says that cognition of distinction भेदप्रतीति is proved by usage (व्यवहारसिद्ध) and also testified to by Upaniṣadic sentences like "द्वा सुपर्णा समुजा सखाया" &c. Śaṅkara answers all the objections and ultimately makes Maṇḍana admit the theory of the identity of the two souls. Here the discussion ends probably on the 7th or the 8th day.

(4) Sadānanda is the only person to give what appears like a real discussion. He also deals with Mādhava's point of the identity of the two souls. Maṇḍana's main point is that the Upaniṣads do not lay down any accomplished entity (Siddha-vastu). The Vedic word is pruposeful only by laying down some action to be performed. The main purpose of Veda is Dharma and everything else is laid down as subservient to it. Even the sentences, laying down an accomplished entity, are subservient to some action. No point is gained by laying down something devoid of action. Hence, Upaniṣads are remaining portions of some Niyaga and no fruit is visible, by knowing Brahman and the knowledge of such one Brahman, not subservient to anything else, is not favoured by the Upaniṣads.[49]

Śaṅkara answers the main argument by pointing out to him how even sentences describing an accomplished entity or an entity devoid of action exist and have purposefulness (arthavattva), by citting a good many examples like "This is the rope and not a serpent" & c. Knowledge of Brahman removes Avidyā and thus leads to liberation and hence it has to be admitted that Upaniṣadic sentences do lay down an accomplished

49. Read : अतो नियोगशिष्टा स्युर्वेदान्ता अपि युक्तिभि ।
ब्रह्मविज्ञानमात्रेण फलं नोपलभानहे ।
तस्मादनन्यशेषात्माऽद्वैतबोधकता स्वतः ।
नास्ति वेदान्तवाक्यानां समता ते यतीश्वर । शां.दि.सार - VI : 104 & 110.

entity. Such a thing is Brahman and it is declared by hundreds of Śrutis and it is sheer audacity to deny it.[50] In fact, it is understood from the Upaniṣads only and to say that these passages have to be interpreted as remainder of something else or as related to some doer is temerity (Sāhasam). It is equally wrong to say that the knowledge of such an entity is never had, when it exists in its own portiions of the Veda. It is impossible to repudiate it. An infinitesimal fraction of this Brahman covers the universe, inclusive of Hiraṇyagarbha. It gives unartificial happiness (Akṛtrima sukha) and destroys all pain and also ignorance or Avidyā along with desire. How then can it be maintained that this Brahma-jñāna is fruitless? If, however, any visible fruit (Dṛṣṭaphala) were to be imagined as its fruit, liberation, like heaven would be impermanent.

Then Śaṅkara shows that Dravya, Guṇa, Karman & c. denote accomplished entities. So Brahman can be. It cannot be said to be purposeless (Niṣprayojana). Brahman is unknown. Ignorance of the same is at the root of all evils like birth & c. Knowledge of that Brahman destroys Avidyā or ignorance with its product (Kārya) and then Brahman, which is Sukha-svarūpa, shines. To bring about this, is the prupose of the Veda. For such knowledge of Brahman, a qualified person is required. That qualification consists in spotless and desireless performance of one's duties according to one's Varṇa and Āśrama, clean intellect and good character, faith, hatelessness and possession of Vairāgya through God's grace.[51]

Maṇḍana here objects that all this would be true if Vairāgya were possible. But it is very difficult for it depends upon three things :

(i) Definite conviction that heavenly happiness is impermanent :

(ii) possibility of a happiness outside it;

(iii) discrimination between the two and acceptance of the latter.

Maṇḍana maintains that Viveka and Vairāgya are difficult to define (Durnirūpa). He then shows how Śruti upholds or declares the permanence of heavenly happiness, which again can be had by means of action, within the capacity of man. A happiness-loving person will naturally go after this heavenly happiness and not after happiness of Brahman, which is neither experienced nor can be experienced by individual souls. If such a happiness existed, people would never have undertaken the trouble of performing karmas. Mokṣa is devoid of joy. The world is a mixture of pleasure and pain and man naturally

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50. Read : अतो वेदान्तवाक्यानां सिद्धार्थे निष्ठताऽस्ति हि ।
विना नियोगतच्छेषाः केवल्लाद्वयबोधकः ।
वेदभागोऽत्र नास्तीति यदुक्तं तदसाम्प्रतम् ॥ शां.दि.सार - VI : 141 & 142.

51. Read : स्ववर्णाश्रमधर्मेण निष्कामेनाऽकलङ्किना ॥ शां.वि.सार - VI : 180
विशुद्धधीः सदाचारः श्रद्दधनोऽनसूयकः ।
ईश्वरानुग्रहाल्लब्धवैराग्यादियुतः सुधीः ॥ Ibid - VI : 181.

desires pleasure. He should try to obtain it and avoid pain and not go after unworldly liberation.

In answer to this, Śaṅkara points out that Śruti itself declares the impermanence of heaven and the impermanence is also established in actual fact (प्रत्यक्षसिद्ध). Whatever is seen or produced is known to perish. So is heavenly happiness liable to perish. Its permanence, declared by Śruti, is only relative. By discrimination between the permanent and the impermanent, Vairāgya will arise with regard to all things except Brahman. That Brahman is of the form of Happiness, Joy (सुखरूप, आनन्दरूप) and the individual soul is really one with that Reality. Due to ignorance, Maṇḍana regarded them as distinct. Those persons, therefore, who desire permanent joy (Sadānanda), go in for Brahmananda and a qualified mumukṣu obtains it. Heavenly happiness is only a part of that Brahmānanda, is mixed with pain and perishable and so sensible people go after knowledge of Brahman only.

Śaṅkara then says that Mokṣa is not Saṁskārya & c. and hence does not depend upon Karman. That Maṇḍana thinks it is so, is due to his ignorance of the nature of Mokṣa. Hence, one desiring liberation, should give up karma.

Maṇḍana now argues that Śruti lays down karma till death and hence they cannot be given up. Moreover, Śruti, which lays down Vijñāna also, lays down karmas. The two, therefore, have to be followed together. Sannyāsa is mentioned just by way of praise only or for the blind and the lame, who cannot perform karman.

Here, Śaṅkara shows how Karmas are incompatible with knowledge of Brahman. Ego-sense and desire, which are at the root of all action, have been destroyed by that knowledge, which therefore, does not admit of the existence of the Karmas. Sannyāsa, on the other hand, becomes a natural corollary to Brahma-Vijñāna. It is also not possible to say that such differentiation by Śruti for different persons is not justified, for, Śruti itself lays down different things for different Varṇas and Āśramas. So also, Śruti lays doen Karmas for ignorant people (Dehābhimaninah) but not for the realised ones (Viduṣah), for whom Sannyāsa is ordained. Bhg. also supports this division. Śaṅkara addresses a beautiful stanza to Maṇḍana, showing him why he does not agree with Śaṅkara. Śaṅkara says that he i.e. Maṇḍana had not worshipped God, who gives the desire for Advaita.[52]

Maṇḍana takes objection to the last word in the stanza and puts forth his theory that it is action which gives fruit and that God need not be brought in at all. If He is admitted to dispense fruits, defects like inequality and cruelty cannot be avoided. The power of action to bestow fruit is recognised by Veda. God, therefore, need not be admitted at all.

Śaṅkara justifies the existence of God beautifully. He says that it is imperative to

52. Read : परन्तु बुध्यतेऽस्माभिरीश्वरो नार्चितस्त्वया ।
अद्वैतवासनादाता सर्वकर्मफलप्रदः ॥ शं.वि.सार - VI : 309.

admit some Kartā of the universe, of unimaginable development and form. Moreover, all variety that is seen in the world cannot be explained without God. He has decreed that certain actions will bear certain fruits nad so on and years and decades after the Karmas like the sacrifice are actually performed and finished, they bear fruit. Mīmāṁsaka's Āpūrva to explain this phenomenon in place of God, established by Śmṛti, reasoning and experience, itself is Gaurav (cumbrous). In fact, Śruti Śruti and Smṛti are nothing but the dictates of God. He also follows his own rules regarding certain actions giving certain fruits only, according as they are performed by people and thus inequality and cruelty do not attach to God.[53]

Moreover, it is He alone, animating all the bodies and hence also, no question of inequality & c. comes in, for they are possible only when there is bheda or distinction.

Maṇḍana, once more, objects to non-distinction of jīva and Brahman by citing certain Śrutis. Śaṅkara answers the objection by citing other Sṛrutis, which declare identity of the two and then explains that the distinction refers to the stage of ignorance while oneness refers to the stage of knowledge and hence there is no contradiction. Avidyā is only imagined and hence the state of ignorance is just like the dream-state. Just as the man, who wakes up from that state, becomes free from whatever he may have been experiencing in that state, so also when the soul wakes up from his slumber of ignorance, he regains his own resplendent form, which is nothing but absolute Reality. For attaining that position, worship of God and instruction from a preceptor are necessary.

Here, we are told by Sadānanda, Maṇḍana kept quiet and Vānī, his wife, came there and seeing that his garland had faded away, declared that he was defeated and that Śaṅkara was victorious.

Sadānanda is the only writer to give so many details of the discussion and hence his account has been given at some length here. Maṇḍana-episode, in my opinion, is practically over at this stage, except for his initiation into Sannyāsa by Śaṅkara. Some biographers, however, tack on the story of Śaṅkara's para-kāyā-praveśa to this episode at this stage only ad since their version has almost a unanimous hold on the popular belief, it deserves attention. Before dealing with that story, however, I shall first mention a brief story in connection with the discussion, then discuss the Maṇḍana episode itself and finally return to the story of para-kāyā-praveśa.

Tiru. D., Mādhava, Sadānanda, Parameśvara and Nīlakaṇṭha tell us that Maṇḍana was not sorry that he was defeated by Śaṅkara but that Jaimini's interpretation was proved wrong by Śaṅkara pained him very much. Ultimately, he asked Śaṅkara as to how Jaimini was misled and misled others in regard to the true import of the Vedas. Then, Śaṅkara

53. Vide : शां.वि.सार - VI : 361.

told him that neither was Jaimini himself misled nor did he mislead others but that he was not properly understood by his followers. Even Jaimini was of the opinion that Karmas were meant for purification of the mind. Mental purity qualified a man for the true knowledge of Reality, which knowledge resulted in final emancipation by dispelling ignorance of the true self. His commentators, in their enthusiasm to uphold the Vedic religion of rituals, attached to them i.e. the rituals, supreme importance and placed them even above God and knowledge of God. At this stage, we are told, Jaimini himself appeared on the scene an after pointing out the true greatness of Śaṅkara, who alone, he said, was competent to understand the true meaning of the Sūtras, he confirmed Śaṅkara's interpretation thereof and said in addition that he possibly could not differ from Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa. There was only some difference of emphasis but the ultimate principle was the same. With these words, he disappeared. Maṇḍana now felt completelly satisfied and most willingly requested Śaṅkara to initiate him into Sannyāsa and the higher mysteries of Vedānta. Śaṅkara readily agreed and after duly initiating him, renamed him Sureśvarācārya.

Even a cursory glance at the episode, as narrated by the various biographers, is enough to show that there is no unanimity among them on any part thereof. They are divided into two camps, though they ae not quite opposed to each other. One group deals with the story briefly, without any embellishments, which charactaries the version of the other set. The episode can be considered in three parts viz., (i) Śaṅkara's actual visit to Maṇḍana's house, (ii) the initial wrangle between the two, described by some and (iii) the actual discussion. It will be easier to examine these one by one.

Regarding the first, it seems more natural to hold that Śaṅkara went to the city of Maṇḍana on foot only, just as he did when he went to see his mother (according to Citsukha's version). There is also a point to be gained by going on foot. Śaṅkara was able to acquaint himself with the customs and manners of people of different places and provinces. According to all the biographers, Śaṅkara had taken with him some disciples, which also squares better with his going on foot than by air.

It also seems quite possible that when actually Śaṅkara reached the place, he made inquiries about Maṇḍana's residence and that he was given the poetically picturesque description of the same that we find repeated by about ten biographers. The statement may be a little exaggerated but we can infer from it that all the people near about had picked up something of Maṇḍana's learning and views. Cidvilāsa's description seems to be more natural than that of the others. It also seems better to believe with him that it was some brahmin, rather than some ladies, as stated by other biographers, who was approached by Śaṅkara for the required information and that he supplied it. The stanzas and the ideas therein fit in better in the mouth of a brahmin than in that of a maid-servant.

The next stage is more difficult to tackle. The initial wrangle between Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana, reported by about ten biographers including Anantānandagiri and Cidvilāsa, who are comparatively very old writers, is a hard pill to swallow. Against these two, however, are pitted the other two old writers, viz., Vyāsācala and Govindanātha, both of whom omit the same altogether. It is difficult to decide between the two. In this connection, the following points may be noted.

(i) Out of the ten biographers who describe the wrangle, three follow Mādhava. The three are Sadānanda, Parameśvara and Nīlakaṇṭha. Mādhava, for the most part, has followed one of the three viz. Vyāsacala, Tiru D. And Rāja.D. None of these three however, describes the wrangle. Mādhava's source, therefore, seems to be different. Perhaps, he based his versiion on that of Ānandagiri's Pr. Ś.V., which he claims to summarise. Anantānandagiri also seems to follow some beaten track - perhaps the same Pr.Ś.V. Cidvilāsa and Sadānanda. who are said to follow Citsukha, do so less and deviate from him more and among themselves also, they do not agree in following Citsukha in any particular context. In the absence of the original work of Citsukha, neither Cidvilāsa nor Sadānanda can be relied upon as safe guides.

(ii) The story of the exchanges is closely connected with the immediately preceding story of Śaṅkara finding the main door of Maṇḍana's house closed and hence his dropping inside by the serial route. If this is true, one wonders as to how Maṇḍana was not able to see that Śaṅkara - a mere boy, hardly out of his teens - was no ordinary person to perform the feat. Again, like Kumārila, he also must have heard about Śaṅkara and his fame by that time and should really have been expecting him some day. His flying into a rage, all of a sudden, seems altogether without foundation.

Similarly, Anantānandagiri, Cidvilāsa, Br. Saras and Vallī. mention Vyāsa only as having been present there. Tiru. D. adds Jaimini for the first time and he is immetated by Mādhava and his three followers. If, then these two personages were really present and if ultimately they interceded on Śaṅkara's behalf to point out his greatness to Maṇḍana, what were they doing all the time the wrangle was going on? Why did they allow Maṇḍana to carry on with it even so far as he did? In fact, if they really knew who Śaṅkara was, they themselves ought to have welcomed him and asked Maṇḍana to worship him first, immediately he dropped down from the air. Nor only that does not happen but Śaṅkara also does not do anything like paying his homage to the two great sages.

Lastly, whatever hatred Maṇḍana might have had for Sannyāsins as a class, his behaviour, if true, is a great blot on his learning, even though it cannot be deined that such irascible tempers are not quite inconsistent even in the case of great personalities. It, however, shows Śaṅkara also in a very unfavourable light, not quite consistent with his

elevated character. The whole episode of this wrangle looks suspicious and the oddity of it has made some scholars criticise it very severely. Until, therefore, there is some better authority like Citsukha to support this version, it is better to follow Vyāsācala & c.

It is possible to agree that Maṇḍana did perform some Śrāddha ceremony that day but that he had finished it and was waiting for some guest, when Śaṅkara reached his place. He may not even have liked to have a Yati as his guest but on learning who he was and that he was directed to his place by his own Guru Kumārila - a fact which Śaṅkara must have told him at the very outset - Maṇḍana, in all probalility, welcomed him most warmly. From what Śaṅkara must have told him about Kumarila's direction, Maṇḍana must have realised the object of Śaṅkara's visit and immediately agreed to enter into a discussion with him either the same day after meals or more preferably, the early morning next day. Śaṅkara must have been aware that Maṇḍana's wife was an exceptionally learned lady and he himself may have suggested her name for the Judge's seat and that was how the discussion came about. It is neither impossible nor improbable that in keeping with the rules of feminine modesty, Maṇḍana's wife, though gifted and learned, did not consider it quite proper to sit there in the midst of a large gathering of distinguished men and resorted to some method like the garland to decide the contest. These two things viz., Maṇḍana's wife, having been appointed judge and her throwing garlands round the necks of the two, are mentioned by all the biographers without exception. No one describes her presence in the hall. The ruse of the garland cannot be understood unless she also is presumed to have possessed Yogic powers.

Mr. C.N. Kṛṣṇasvāmi Aiyer has some objection to the story of Bhārati's appointment as a Judge. He admits that "Bhārati belonged to an age when learning among women was more common and they enjoyed greater freedom," and that "Bhārati was therefore, a learned lady of exceptional abilities."[54] And yet he concludes that "the disputation between the two great men was, perhaps, held in hte presence of the king of the place." The propriety or the necessity of this conclusion is not understood. Not a single biographer even remotelly suggests the presence of any king. On the contrary, it is more to the point that such a discussion should have been held in the presence of a learned person and not a king, who may not necessarily be learned. My main objection is to his suggestion of the king in place of Bhārati, even after he admits the different status of women then and the particular status of Bhārati, a suggestion which is against the absolutely unanimous established tradition.

Again, he says that the vow of Maṇḍana, to become a Sannyāsin, if defeated, was a rash one and that it was not inconsistent with his irascible temper. Now this temper has been gathered from Mādhava's version, which he himself calls "decidedly untrustworthy."[55] Even if we admit this part of his argument, what shall we say about

54. Vide "Three Great Ācāryas", p.35.
55. Vide : "Three Great Ācārya," p.30.

Śaṅkara, who also sets out with a similar vow? In fact, the discussion is of such a type that success or defeat of one or the other was going to strike at the very base of the life of either and we are dealing with persons to whom their principles were their very life. In these circumstances, therefore, there was nothing rash in the vows of either. It only shows their keen conviction and sturdy faith in their own principles, which they were living every hour of their life and for upholding which they were prepared to risk anything and everything.

Now remains the question of the actual discussion. It has already been seen that only three or four persons give some details. There seem to be certain common points of discussion given by them and they are :

(1) Identity of Jīva and Braman.

(2) Jñāna and Karma as means of liberation - place of the two in the scheme of life and philosophy.

(3) Validity and necessity of Sannyāsa.

All these presuppose the problem of interpretation of the Vedas. There seems to be no doubt that the discussion must have turned on some such points. Even if we read Maṇḍana's Brahmasiddhi or the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā works, we shall find the same thing. The latter do seem to disclose a consideration of questions like Mokṣa and Jñāna and naturally they also presuppose the question of the existence of God. As already said while discussing the story of Kumārila, Pūrva-mīmāṁsakās were not atheists in the sense of not believing in God but they ranked Karman higher than God and everything else. Perhaps, Sadānanda has followed, at least to some extent, Citsukha's version of the discussion though there is no direct evidence to prove the same. He is the only person to discuss so many points and at such length. The manner of discussion also, as given by him, has some ring of the Śaṅkara in it and a ring of truth. The only difficulty is that no writer says what happened during the first six days. It is more than we can surmise.

Regarding the duration of the discussion also, there is no agreement. Different writers have given different durations of the same. Many refer to the first six days and start giving details of the discussion from the 7th day. We are left only to imagine when it ended. Cidvilāsa and Br. Saras. say that it ended on the 18th day while according to Anantānandagiri and Vallī., it went on for 100 days. Considering however, the space of a few hours only, during which so great a Mīmāṁsaka as Prabhākara was overcome by Śaṅkara, it does not seem probable that the discussion continued beyond a week at the most. That a very serious and important discussion took place between Maṇḍana, a stalwart Mīmāṁaka and Śaṅkara, a stalwart Advaitin, is borne out by uniform tradition, oral as well as written and it is most unfair to dismiss the incident as unhistorical. It is singularly unfortunate that we do not have any authentic and a detailed account of this most historic incident of Śaṅkara - Maṇḍana meeting and controversy.

The controversy established the supremacy of spiritual knowledge over everything else in the world - intelligence, scholarship and the rest. Maṇḍana realised it and like a true intellectual, gave up his life-long ideals, turned his back upon all that he had held near and dear to him, including his most brilliant wife, to become a Sannyāsin, following in the foot-steps of his master, who was just out of his teens but who was now to him a symbol of that most superior knowledge. There was one such performance to Śaṅkara's credit already, viz., the conversion of the great Mīmāṁsaka, Prabhākara, which had demonstrated the same principle of the superiority of self-knowledge to everything else. Śaṅkara repeated it by converting Maṇḍana. Śaṅkara may or may not have performed other miracles but his greatest miracles are his commentaries on the Prasthāna-traya and his victories over such stalwarts as Prabhākara and Maṇḍana. It now remains to discuss the episode of Śaṅkara's encounter with Maṇḍana's wife and his parakāyā-praveśa before closing this chapter.

The Incident of Para-kāyā-praveśa

All the biographers without exception agree in describing this incident but they differ as to the stage at which it took place in Śaṅkara's life. A majority of biographers describe the incident after the Śaṅkara - Maṇḍana discussion while three or four do so in connection with Śaṅkara ascending the Sarvajña-pītha. The version of those biographers who narrate it after Śaṅkara Maṇḍana discussion is as follows.

Tiru. D., Parameśvara and Nīla. tell us that when Maṇḍana was defeated and was about to be made a Sannyāsin, his wife came forward to challenge Śaṅkara to a discussion as the other half of her husband and the discussion started. Anantā, Mād., Sadā., Br. Saras. and Vallī. say that as soon as Maṇḍana was defeated, Bhārati started for the heavenly abode but Śaṅkara bound her by the Vana-durgā-mantra and did not allow her to go away. Mād. and Sadā. make her narrate to Śaṅkara a story from her childhood:

One day, as she was being fondled by her mother, some ascetic came to their place. The mother had, by that time, noticed certain unusual things in her and so she asked the ascetic about her future life. The ascetic replied that she was destined to be the wife of the great Maṇḍana. She was under a curse from which she was to be free when Maṇḍana would be defeated by Śaṅkara, with whom she also would enter into a discussion.

Bhārati says to Śaṅkara that she now wanted to discuss with Śaṅkara as the other half of Maṇḍana, Śaṅkara objected to it on the ground that it was not proper for Yatis to argue with ladies but Bhārati pointed out the examples of Gārgī and Sulabhā, who argued with Yājñavalkya and Janaka respectively. Śaṅkara had to agree and the discussion started.

Cidvilāsa gives a somewhat different version. When Śaṅkara expressed a desire to argue with her, she got angry and asked him whether he had become puffed up and so

desired to discuss with her standing in the air, how could she do so? She again started to go but Śaṅkara bound her by Vana-durgā-mantra and then she started discussion which went on for eight days.

Hereafter, the story is more or less uniform, except for slight differences. The discussion went on for some days and Bhārati found that Śaṅkara was thoroughly acquainted with every śāstra. Then it occurred to her that he had become a Sannyāsin just in his boyhood and as susch was not likely to be conversant with the science of Erotics. She, therefore, asked him a question[56] pertaining to that science. Śaṅkara was naturally puzzled. If he would answer, he would expose his ascetic's vow to blame and if he would not, he would have to accept defeat. He, therefore, asked for some days leave, which was duly granted. The period is given variously. Anantā. and Vallī. say it was six months, Vyā., and Govinda. refer to only seven days, G.V.K. says only "some days," Rāja.D. finishes the whole affair in one day while the rest of them generally give one month as the time.

Now, according to all the writers except Mād., Sadā. and Nīla., Śaṅkara set out with a few of his disciples like Padmapāda and Hastāmalaka and came to a jungle on the outskirts of a city called Amṛtapura. There he saw a large gathering of men for funeral purposes. The king of the place[57] was dead and on a sandalwood pyre, his body was kept and was about to be set fire to. Round about the body, were office-bearers like ministers, subjects and a large group of very beautiful ladies of the harem, bathed in tears. Śaṅkara saw the opportunity and told his disciples that he intended entering this body during the stipulted period.

Mād., Sadā. and Nīla. tell us that when Śaṅkara said this, a discussion ensued between Padmapāda and Śaṅkara. Padmapāda expressed a doubt as to the propriety of his action. Śaṅkara explained that he was above all attachment and no blame would attach to him. Padmapāda even cited the story of Maccindra-nātha, who, in the company of ladies, forgot himself and had to be roused from his slumber by his disciple Gorakṣanatha. Śaṅkara, however, satisfied him and the decision was taken.

Resorting to his Yogic powers, Śaṅkara left his body in a cave of the nearby mountain nad immediately entered the body of the king, who became alive and began to move his hands and feet. All the people naturally rejoiced over this revival of their king and in the flush of their joy, did not stop to think over the revival. There was great rejoicing in the kingdom and the revived king began to look after the affairs of the state as before. The king immediately made administrative arrangements and reparied to the

56. The substance of the question is almost common to all the versions and can be given in Mādhava's words, thus : कलाः कियन्त्यो वद पुष्पधन्विनः । किमात्मिकाः किं च पदं समाश्रिताः। पूर्वे च पदो कथमन्यथा स्थितिः । कथं युवत्यां कथमेव पूरुषे ॥ - IX : 69.

57. The name of the king is given as Amaraka (Rāja.D. IV : 35, Mād. - IX : 76), Amṛta (Anant. Ch.58), Amaruka (Govinda - Ch.IX), Amareśvara (CId. - Ch. XIX) Amaru (G.V.K. - III : 28).

harem. The ladies welcomed him with open arms and submerged him in an ocean of bliss by giving him all sorts of amorous pleasures. The king also enjoyed the ladies thoroughly. In a short time, however, both the ladies, particularly the head-queen, whose name is given as Kanaka-manjari by Cid., and Br. Saras. and the ministers of the king began to suspect the identity of the soul animating the body of their king. They felt strongly that though the body was the same, the animating soul was different, most possibly of some Yogin. According to Mād. and Sadā., it was the ministers who got this suspicion while, according to the others, the head-queen suspected and conveyed doubt to the ministers for doing the needful - some actually make her give him specific instructions in the matter. The ministers then sent people to find out and burn down all dead bodies whenever found, so as to prevent this new soul from re-entering his previous body.

All the writers tell us that in the new body, Śaṅkara had mastered Kāma-śāstra and enjoyed the ladies accordingly. He also wrote one book on that subject, the name of which is given as Mṛga by Valli., Amaruka by G.V.K. while Vyā., Mād. and Rāja.D., simply refer to such a composition (of 100 stanzas according to Rāja. D.) Śaṅkara, however, as we are told by writers like Cid., Mād., Sadā. & c. lost himself in the round of pleasures derived from those lascivious beauties of the harem and forgot his mission. His disciples grew anxious as he did not return in time and hence one or two remained there to guard Śaṅkara's body and the others set out in search of him. They did not know where to find him but as they went from place to place, they heard at one place of a rejuvenated king and the wonderful changes that were marked by the people in the kingdom since the rejuvenation and also a report as to the king's recent activities. They immediately disguisd themselves as singers and went to the Durbar and on getting admittance, sang a song which secretly reminded Śaṅkara of himself and his mission. Śaṅkara immediately realised the import of the song, feigned that he had fainted and flew back to his own body. By this time, however, the ministers' messengers had already traced the body, put it on a pyre and set fire to it. Śaṅkara found the body in flames but he praised Lord Nṛsimha, who put out the flames and rendered the body whole. Śaṅkara, then, went back to Maṇḍana's place, where, according to some, Śaṅkara answered her questions, according to others, he showed his new work to Bhārati and she was satisfied while according to still some others, she acknoledged her defeat and Śaṅkara's supremacy forthwith. Maṇḍana was enrolled as a Sannyāsin and became Sureśvara. According to some, Bhārati, at the request of Śaṅkara, promissed to show grace to his followers and disappeared, and according to others, followed him to Śṛṅgeri, where he established her image, a Śrīcakra and started the famous Śaṅkara-mutt and worship of Śāradā. He also named his Sāmpradāya after her name. That is why all the mutts are known as Śārada mutts.

A little bit of an additional story is narrated by Br. Saras., who says that to atone for his sin of para-kāyā-praveśa, Śaṅkara went to Kāśī, bathed in the Ganges and worshipped Lord Śiva, who appeared before him and said that no blame attached to him. He then gave

him five lingas, Candramouli & c. and asked him to place them for worship at Sṛṅgagiri, Kāncī, Purī, Dwārka and Badarī. He promised to give him five more lingas on the mountain Kailāsa. Then he instructed him to deposit these five lingas with his five disciples. After thims, Śaṅkara went to where Bhāratī was standing (according to Anant., Cid., Br. Saras., and Vallī., throughout the discussion between Bhāratī and Śaṅkara, Bhāratī was standing in the air in the outer courtyard of Maṇḍana's house). She acknowledged defeat and in deferrence to his request, agreed to go with him to Sṛṅgeri.[58]

A very different version comes from Rāja. D. He narrates the story in the course of Śaṅkara's pilgrimage and neither in connection with Śaṅkara-Maṇḍana discussion nor in that of Śaṅkara ascending the Sarvajñapītha. Rāja.D. says that after Śaṅkara revived the child of the brahmin couple at the door-step of Mūkāmbika - temple, he went to a place where Maruga's dead body had been brought for cremation and was surrounded by ladies of surpassing beauty. He felt like entering the body for (i) placing on the throne a son of the king's body and (ii) establishing his own ominscience. When Sananandana came to know of this intended action of his Guru, he tried to dissuade him from it by citing the instance of Matsyendranātha Yogin. Śaṅkara, however, promised to come back the very next day and having experienced the science of love, wrotte a work of 100 stanzas on that subject and did actually return the very next day. Thereafter, Śaṅkara came back to Mūkāmbikā-Sadana.

Vyā., Govinda. and G.V.K. only narrate this story at the time of Śaṅkara's ascending the Sarvajña-pītha and they also tell us that Śaṅkara remained in the body of the king for seven days only, at the end of which period he came back, of himself, to his own. The rest of the story is the same more or less as given already.

The story involves two problems, viz., (i) the fundamental possibility of such a feat and (ii) the stage at which it took place. The second depends upon the first and, therefore, it will be better to discuss them in their order.

(1) Mr. C.N. Kṛṣṇaswāmy Aiyar felt that "the whole story of the transference of Śaṅkara's soul into Amaruha's body has to be rejected as being undemonstrable" and, therefore, he concluded that "the whole of this spisode is due to the misguided enthusiasm of later followers."[59]

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58. Read : परकायाप्रवेशे तु राजस्त्रीभोगतस्तदा ।
स जातदोषशान्त्यर्थं काशीक्षेत्रं ययौ गुरुः ।
भागीरथ्यां च विधिवत्स्नात्वा विश्वेश्वरं शिवम् ।
संपूज्य विश्वनाथं तु तुष्टाव शङ्करो गुरुः ॥
Lord Śiva said to Śaṅkara -
पापलेशस्य संबन्धस्तव नास्ति न संशयः । वृ.शं.वि. Ch. XIX.

59. Vide : 'Three Great Ācāryas' - p.37.

If unanimity of tradition is any pointer in such cases, we have it in full measure in the present instance. There is not a writer but describes this incident, in more or less details, at some stage of Śaṅkara's life. Even Citsukha and Ānandagiri describe it, though their full versions are not available today.

Secondly, in recent times, people have begun to entertain better respect for the science of Yoga and to consider possible certain phenomena described by our ancient works on that subject. The Yoga-sūtra of Patanjali distinctly speak of a Yogi's power of leaving one body and inhabiting another. People have come across examples of what is now known as multiple personalities, a phenomenon accepted, more or less, even by modern science. If an ordinary soul can, after it has left one body at death, inhabit another, which is clearly inhabited by another, there seems no reason why a Yogin cannot, of his own will, leave his body and inhabit another, which is, for practical purposes, dead and then animate and use it for some time, only to give it up and return to his old one. Paramānanda's (..................................) 'Autobiography of a Yogi' clearly cites examples, wherein a living person appears in two different places simultaneously, though this is explained as 'phenomena' in terms of modern science. The only objection is that no exact parallel to the present episode of transference of the soul, has been recorded so far. An acceptance or rejection of such a possibility will depend upon how far a person can be said to develop Yogic powers to transfer of psychological energy - for, to my mind, this case is only an extended application of that theory, which is already granted. From what has been said so far, it does not seem altogether unreasonable to believe that the Yogic powers can be developed to the extent required for purposes of the story and hence to conclude that such a thing is possible. Citsukha tells us that Śaṅkara wrote an extensive gloss - called Rājayoga-bhāṣyā - on Yogatārāvali, a work on Yoga by his Guru Govindamuni and that the work was much more than a commentary - it was an independent work of Yogaśāstra. It is, therefore, possible to presume that even at the early age of about 18 years, Śaṅkara must have been a great yogin and hence there does not seem anything improbable in his performing the feat under consideration.

Prof. S.S. Sūryanārāyaṇa Sastri has raised two objections to the basic acceptance of this story as a fact of history. He says :

"Quite apart from the miraculous elements in the story, it offends us by the introduction of an unnecessary debate with the unforeseen consequence of Śaṅkara's having to undergo experience which he had deliberately renounced; this offends the moral susceptibilties of many."

"There is also a logical difficulty. At the time he met Bhārati and her spouse, was Śaṅkara merely a clever disputant or a realised soul? If the former, did he ever attain realisation? We are not made aware of any period or incident which marks his realisation. If, on the other hand, he was already a realised soul, should he not have had at his command the omniscience of Īśvara, the immediate knowledge of everything as it is? Where, then, was the necessity to depart this body and tenant another?"

"If the incident was calculated to edify the common people, was Bhārati, the incarnation of Sarasvati, also to be included among them? Even if it may have edified some people, what of the rest, who are offended at the incapacity or else, the lapse, of their idol?"[60]

The first objection is to the point in that the story does appear unnecessary in the context of Śaṅkara-Maṇḍana meeting. It will, however, be shown presently that the story is misplaced but not unfounded or got up altogether and in the other context, it is not unnecessary. When, however, a thing is required by circumstances and has actually taken place in answer to the need, there is no help if, due to its unusual character, it offends certain people. The main sting in the objection seems to lie in the suggestion that the story is unhistorical. When that point is answered, the objection is easily removed. Moreover, all considerations of morality have relation to the body and the mind and never to the soul. The body that renounced the enjoyments was different from the one which experienced them and the mind, being free from attachment, was never tainted, if the people's idolization had any meaning. The soul was ever and anon untouched. There is, therefore, no room for the moral susceptibilities to be offended.

Regarding the second objection, it can be put to the author whether by the first alternative, he means to suggest that unless Śaṅkara could be said to have been a realised soul, he could not be said to have had the capacity to perform such a feat. If he does not, there is no point in posing the alternative but if he does, why does he think that there is any necessary relation between the two? Self-realisation is not absolutely necessary to be able to perform such a feat. Yogic practices can give such powers.

The second alternative is rooted in a literal and not a practical understanding of the principle that a self-realised soul becomes omniscient. No doubt he does become so but all such persons are, as a rule, found not to exhibit knowledge of that branch of study for which they have not undergone the necessary discipline, at least formal, according to worldlly methods during that particular embodied

60. Vide his 'Śaṅkarācārya', p.20.

existence of theirs. They exceed normal standards of behaviour just when absolutely necessary and just as much. In the present instance, Śaṅkara had taken the role of a Sannyāsin and could not possibly have experienced the science of Erotics in the ordinary manner and since it was necessary for the mission in his hand, he resorted to the use of another body by resorting to his yogic powers. The question of edifying the people or Bhārati does not, at all, arise.

Having thus established the possibility of transference of his soul by Śaṅkara, we can turn to the second problem regarding the stage at which it took place.

(2) It has already been said that only about four biographers, viz., Vyā., Govinda., Rāja. D. and G.V.K., say that the incident took place at the time of Śaṅkara's ascending the Sarvanña-pītha. Out of these, Rāja.D.'s version shows no connecting motive for Śaṅkara's act. The two reasons stated by him have no bearing on Śaṅkara's life as he was not out to achieve either. We are, therefore, practically left with only three writers who connect it with the Sarvajña-pīthārohaṇa while on the other side, there ae as many as nine. I prefer to side with the minority and my reasons are as follows :

(i) Sarvajña Citsukha, as the direct disciple and companion of Śaṅkara has the best claim to authority. He also tells us that Śaṅkara overcome the bodiless Vāṇī and ascended the Sarvanña-pītha at Kāñcī.[61]

(ii) Suṣamā, while commenting on Stanza 29 of Gururatna-mālikā, clearly refers[62] to the two views in the matter and prefers the one that Śaṅkara defeated Sarasvati at the time of ascending the Sarvajña-pītha, because, it says that view was favoured by Śiva-rahasya, Br.Ś.V., Keralīya Ś.V., Pr.Ś.V., Vyāsācalīya & c. This clearly shows that according to Suṣamā, not only Citsukha but Ānandagiri also in his Pr.Ś.V., held the same view. Keralīya Ś.V. is Govinda.'s work. It has already been said that this and the work of Vyā. also hold the same view, in the matter. The oldest authorities, therefore, favour the view that the incident took place when Śaṅkara ascended the Sarvajña-pītha.

(3) All the versions without exception tell us that in the discussion between Śaṅkara and

61. Read : वार्णीं विजित्य च यिथद्भिशदामदेहाम् ।
सर्वज्ञपीठमधिरुह्य च तत्र काञ्च्याम् ॥.

62. Read :
इदं पद्यं (St. 29 of G.R.M.) अत्रत्याः कतिपये काममाचार्यविजयविद्याशङ्करविजयादिषु निषण्णबुद्धयः ''अकुतोमयभारतीमिति यत्किंचित्पदव्यत्ययेन ''पटुमण्डनमिश्रेति'' (St. 22 of G.R.M.) पथसमनन्तरं पठन्ति, समर्थयन्ति च तदानीमेव सरस्वतीविजयम् । असावत्र पाठस्तुचितः, सर्वज्ञपीठाधिरोहणसमये पथ तद्विजयस्य शिवरहस्यबृहच्छङ्करविजय- केरलीयशङ्करविजय, प्राचीनशङ्करविजय, व्यासाचलीयादिषु निरूपितत्वात् । ये त्वभिन वोद्दण्डविवारण्यस्वाभिविराचिते विद्याशङ्करविजये शिवरहस्यवचनत्येन प्रतिपादिताः 'दुर्वासः शापतो भूमौ जातां वार्णीं' इत्यादयः श्लोकास्तेन क्वापि शिवरहस्यप्राचीनमातृकासूपलम्यन्त इत्यप्रमाणिकमेवेति सर्वं शिवम् ॥''

Bhārati, there was a tussle on the issue of Śaṅkara's Sarvajñatva. When Śaṅkara was found thoroughly acquainted with every science, Bhārati, with a view to disproving his claim to Sarvajñatva, asked him about the science of love, with which, she shrewdly suspected, he was not directly acquainted. About this nature of the discussion, there is no disagreement. This very agreement, however, ill-agrees with the view of Mādhava & Co. The point of discussion between Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana was the true interpretation of the Vedas on such questions as the identity of the individual and supreme souls, Jñāna-karmam-relation, Sannyāsa as a necessary means of attaining liberation & c. It was not a fight for omniscience or Sarvajñatva on either side. If, therefore, Bhārati should have continued the discussion on her husband's behalf, she ought to have tried to defend him and succeed against Śaṅkara where Maṇḍana had failed and not tried to disestablish Śaṅkara from a position, which he had never claimed during that discussion. Instead of that, she goes on examining him in every branch of knowledge, which is imcompatible with the context. On the contrary, it fits in in the other context very well, where the main point to be decided was Śaṅkara's Sarvajñatva. It was quite proper that when he was found invincible in all other sciences, some shrewd person - she may even have been a lady like Bhārati, of exceptional attainments - (critical people may not like to admit the story of some serial voice putting the question to Śaṅkara) saw a chance of defeating Śaṅkara's claim by asking him something about the science of love. If he answered, that would discredit him and his order permanently and if he did not, he would have to own defeat and take back his claim. Śaṅkara saw this dilemma and found out this method to resolve it.

(4) The story of the other biographers is both improbable and inconsistant. In the first instance, they have to make Śaṅkara bind the departing lady by means of some charms and challenge her to a discussion. This is wholly inconsistent with Śaṅkara's character and also with the context. He had come to argue with Maṇḍana at the instance of Kumārila and not with his wife and he would be the last person to challenge and detain a woman to discussion against her will. This difficulty is noticed by Mād. who, then, invents a story relating to Bhārati's childhood. At that point, it is Bhārati who challenges Śaṅkara to a discussion as the other half of Maṇḍana and curiously enough, the same biographer, who had told us that Śaṅkara, who had detained and challenged her to a discussion, now tells us that Śaṅkara objected to the same between a woman and a Yati and that Bhārati answered the objection by pointing out the instances of Gārgi and Sulabhā. These instances also are inapt for the two ladies argued with Yājñavalkya and Janaka, both of whom were householders, while Śaṅkara's objection related to a discussion between a woman and a Yati. Moreover, it has to be noted that all this story is cut off from that of Śaṅkara binding her by charms and his first challenge to her, by the incident of

Chapter - XI

THE TRIUMPHANT TOUR OR DIGVIJAYA - YĀTRĀ

After conversion, Maṇḍana joined the band of Śaṅkara's disciples, but the biographers are neither clear nor unanimous in stating what happened to his wife. Some say that she immediatelly disappeared after agreeing to Śaṅkara to remain at Śṛṅgeri to bless his people while others say that she followed him to Śṛṅgeri where Śaṅkara created some structure in her honour and she lived there till the end of her life. Mr. C.N.K. Aiyer seems to agree with the second version when he suggests that Bhārati also renounced the world and when, after some time, Śaṅkara established a mutt at Śṛṅgeri, she settled down there and passed her days in prayerful devotion and religious realisation, as it be fitted a woman of her history and character. Śaṅkara named his mutts and the Śṛṅgeri line of pontiffs after her name Śārada and thus paid to her the eternal honour, which she, in his opinion, richlly deserved.

According to Citsukha, Śaṅkara was already on his triumphant tour, when he met Kumārila. At the very commencement of it, he pocketed two outstanding opponents, viz., Prabhākara and Maṇḍana, not to mention Kumārila. The subsequent version of the tour, according to Citsukha, is not available to us now but it is clear that Śaṅkara only continued his tour he had already begun. The versions of the later biographers are different.

Anantānandagiri and following him Vallī., stand apart on one side in describing the whole tour prior to Śaṅkara's encounter with Kumārila and Maṇḍana, whom, according to these biographers, Śaṅkara met at the end of his tour. The tour actually commenced at Pauṇḍarīkapura in the South, where he was initiated into Sannyāsa and Adhyātma Vidyā by Govindamuni and received his Guru's mandate to propagate Advaita philosophy throughout India. All the major incidents of Śaṅkara's life are described towards the end of the tour but prior to the encounter with Kumārila and Maṇḍana i.e. before Śaṅkara had completed sixteen years of his age. Perhaps, this is the reason why these two writers have to say that Śaṅkara stayed at Śṛṅgagiri for some years (twelve, according to Anantā.) after defeating Maṇḍana. This version is opposed to Citsukha's account and to that of all the other biographers, who unanimously describe Śaṅkara's encounter with Maṇḍana at the commencement of Śaṅkara's life, after his training and initiation were over. It seems clear that in describing the various stages of the tour, these two writers have followed Pr.Ś.V. of Ānandagiri but it is quite possible

that they have shifted the starting point and introduced some changes of their own while doing so. It may be remarked in passing that besides Br. Saras, these two are the only writers to tell us what happened at the various discussions and even though while describing these also, they seem to follow Ānandagiri very closely, nothing definite can be said about the veracity thereof.

If these two writers describe the tour right at thte beginning, Br. Saras. places it towards the end of Śaṅkara's life, even after he ascends the Sarvajña-pītha and nominates Sarvajñātman as the second head of Kāmakoṭi-pitha. Then, the author goes on to describe a refutation of as many as 72 different sects in 80 chapters. But, this version also has to be rejected as being artificial, opposed to all other versions and full of anachronisms, e.g. Śaṅkara's encounter with Rāmānujīya-Bhāgavatās, Śrikanthācārya & c. The various discussions also, described at great length, do not deserve better notice.

Out of the remaining biographers, Vyā., Govinda., Cid. and Rāja. D. agree with Citsukha in that according to them, there was no separate digvijaya as such launched upon by Śaṅkara after Maṇḍana's defeat, though Cid. refers to Śaṅkara's desire for the same.[1]

According to these writers, the Digvijaya had already started with Kumārila's meeting and was only continued after the defeat and conversion of Maṇḍana. It is, however, to be noted that no two out of these four writers agree as to the stages of Śaṅkara's tour. Vyāsācala mentions only four places, viz.

(1) श्रीवल्लीग्राम (2) गोकर्ण

(3) काञ्ची (4) काश्मीर

The other three give the routes as follows :

(1) **Govindanātha** :- (From Maṇḍana's place)

(1) शिवविहाराख्यग्राम (Hastāmalaka)

(2) हरिद्वार (3) काञ्ची

(4) कालहस्ती (5) पुण्डरीकपुर

(6) श्रीरङ्गम् (7) रामसेतु

(8) काञ्ची (9) वृषाचल

(2) **Cidvilāsa** :- (From Maṇḍana-Kāśmīr)

(1) तुङ्गभद्रातट (2) काञ्ची

(3) वेंकटेश्वर (4) चिदम्बर (23) बदरिवन

1. Vide शं.वि.वि.. Ch. 31:3 t.1

(5) मध्यार्जुन	(6) रामसेतु
(7) वक्रतुण्डपुरी	(8) मदुरा
(9) अनन्तशयन	(10) वासुकिक्षेत्र
(11) मृडपुरी	(12) गोकर्ण
(13) श्रीशैल	(14) पाण्डुरङ्गेश
(15) जगन्नाथपुरी	(16) उज्जैन
(17) द्वारका	(18) बृन्दावन
(19) मथुरा	(20) गोकुल
(21) कुरुक्षेत्र	(22) मायापुरी

(3)Rāja. Dixit :- (From Prayāga)

(1) कालटि	(2) शिववल्ली अग्रहार
(3) गोकर्ण	(4) मूकाम्बिका
(5) अहोबिल	(6) अनन्तशयन
(7) मदुरा	(8) रामसेतु
(9) वृषपर्वत	(10) द्वारका
(11) चिदम्बर	(12) गरुडापगा
(13) शोणगिरीशपुरी	(14) सत्यव्रत

A cursory glance at these orders and routes is enough to point out the leaps in the second and the third.

(2) Cidvilāsa's route - श्रीशैल-जगन्नाथपुरी-उज्जयिनी-द्वारका-बृन्दावन

(3) Rāja. D.'s route - वृषपर्वत, (Trichur - South) द्वारका चिदम्बर

Mādhava, Sadānanda and Nīlankanṭha tell us that after Maṇḍana's conversion, Śaṅkara came to the south, propagating his theory on the way, at places like Maharāṣṭra. Many automatically surrendered while some were defeated by Sureśvara and Padmapāda and some by Śaṅkara himself. After Śaṅkara came to Śṛṅgeri, incidents relating to Ugrabhairava, revival of the dead boy, Hastāmalika, and Toṭaka, mother's death, writing of works by Śaṅkara's disciples, pilgraimage of Padmapāda & c. are described. At the end of these, we are told Śaṅkara thought of launching his Triumphant Tour and did actually set out for it along with hid disciples and King Sudhanvan. Regarding the various stages of the tour, these three writers are more or less agreed. They give Śaṅkara's route as follows :-

(1) **Mādhava** :- (From Kerala Pradeśa)

(1) मध्यार्जुन (2) रामेश्वर
(3) काञ्ची (4) विदर्भराजधानी
(5) कर्नाटक (6) गोकर्ण
(7) सौराष्ट्र (8) उज्जयिनी
(9) नैमिषप्रदेश (10) दरद
(11) भरत (12) कुरुपा ञ्चालदेश
(13) कामरूप (14) विदेह
(15) कोसल (16) अंग
(17) वंग (18) गौड
(19) बदरी (20) काश्मीर
(21) बदरिकाश्रम (22) केदार (सिद्धिस्थान)

(2) **Sadānanda** (From K. Pradeśa)

(1) रामेश्वर (2) काञ्ची
(3) कर्नाटक (4) गोकर्ण
(5) द्वारका (6) उज्जयिनी
(7) कामरूप (8) काशी
(9) काश्मीर (10) शृङ्गेरी
(11) बदरिकावन (सिद्धि)

(3) **Nilakaṇṭha :** (From K. Pradeśa))

(1) रामेश्वर (2) काञ्ची
(3) वराहक्षेत्र (4) विदर्भराजधानी
(5) कर्नाटक (6) गोकर्ण
(7) द्वारका (8) उज्जयिनी
(9) कामरूप (10) काशी
(11) काश्मीर (12) वदरिकावन (सिद्धि

(3) **Nilakaṇṭha :** (From K. Pradeśa)

(1) मध्यार्जुन (2) अनन्तशयनपुर
(3) रामेश्वर (4) तौलग्राम
(5) रौप्यपीठपुर (6) गोकर्ण
(7) श्रीशैल (8) शेषाचल

(9) नारसिंहगिरि (10) जगन्नाथपुरी

(11) काशी (12) काश्मीर

(13) शृंगेरी (14) काञ्ची

(15) बदरिवन (16) नेपाल

(17) दत्तात्रेयगुहा (सिद्धि)

These routes disclose the following points :-

(i) Visit to Gokarṇa is repeated since Śaṅkara had already visited it on his way to Śṛṅgeri from Maṇḍana's place, according to all these three writers.

(2) Mādhava mentions many more places like Aṅga, Vaṅga & c. than the other two writers do.

(3) Mādhava and Nīlakantha bring Śaṅkara back from Vidarbha to Karnāṭaka and thence, he is made to go to Gokarṇa & c. while Sadānanda brings Śaṅkara from Kāśmīra to Śṛṅgerī and takes him back again to Badarivana.[2] Mādhava is content with sending someone to Śriṅgeri while Śaṅkara goes to Badari.[3]

These routes differ very much not only from those given by Vyāsācala, Cidvilasa & c. but also from the one given by G.V.K., the author of which, like these three, Mādhava & c. is patently an adherent of and exponent of Śṛṅgeri tradition. G.V.K. gives the route as :

(1) मध्यार्जुन	(9) रारसिंहगिरि	(17) दत्तात्रेयगुहा (सिद्धि)
(2) अनन्तरायनपुर	(10) जगन्नाथपुरी	
(3) रामेश्वर	(11) काशी	
(4) तौलवग्राम	(12) काश्मीर	
(5) रौप्यपीठपुर	(13) शृङ्गेरी	
(6) गोकर्ण	(14) काश्री	
(7) श्रीशैलं	(15) बदरिवत	
(8) शेषाचल	(16) नेपाल	

In the case of Mād., Sadā. and Nīla., it can be said that but for the two leaps from Vidarbha to Karnāṭaka and from Kāśmīr to Śṛṅgeri and back to Badari - forest, the differences are those of details only, Mādhava mentioning more places and the other two less. We,

2. Vide शां.वि.सार - XVI : 105 / 106

3. Vide सं.शं.जय - XVI : 93.

however, cannot say the same thing about the version of G.V.K. It is also significant that all these four writers are recognisesd followers of the Śṛṅgeri tradition. The last work, in particular, was written at the instance of Śṛṅgeri Swāmi himself.

In addition to these points, we notice that these writers describe Śaṅkara's encounter with Nīlakaṇṭha, Abhinavagupta (990 A.D. to 1020 A.D.), Udayana (11th century A.D.) and even Śrī Harṣa (12th Century A.D.) of Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya, all of them very much posterior to Śaṅkara. It is also noteworthy that these biographers refer to many discussions but actually give an account of those with Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, Nīlakaṇṭha and Śrī Harṣa only. This anachronism removes any possibility of these accounts being true. Moreover, we are already told by Mādhava, long before the actual tour that all these persons as also Maṇḍana, Prabhākara and Murāri had accepted defeat in argument with Śaṅkara. If so, what is the point in all the repetition of the stories of their discussions and defeats? Not much reliance, therefore, can be placed on these persons' versions of Śaṅkara's triumphant tour.

From all the jumble of the various versions given by the different biographers, two conclusions can be drawn quite reasonably, viz.

(i) that no writer can be relied upon for a correct statement of the stages of Śaṅkara's tour, but

(ii) that Śaṅkara possibly had visited many places like Dwārakā and Jagannātha Puri on the east and west coasts, Kāśī, Gayā, Haridwāra, Ayodhyā, Badarikāśrama in the north and Gokarṇa, Śri Śaila, Anantaśayana, Madurā Harihara, Rameśvara, Kāñcī & c. in the South. It cannot be said, at this distance of time and without someone like Citsukha to guide us, which places he definitely visited and in which order. It can, however, be inferred that Śaṅkara must already have decided to settle down somewhere in the south and hence, after Maṇḍana's defeat, he must have first covered places in the north, on the east and west coasts and finally come down to the south. In those days, all travelling had to be done on foot and particularly as Śaṅkara was accompanied by his disciples and was travelling for the express purpose of propagating his doctrines, he must have taken quite a long time to finish his pada-yātrā and must have been left with little time to spend in the south before he gave up his body. It, therefore, does not seem possible that he could have stayed at Śṛṅgeri for 12 years (Anantā) or 14 years (Cid.). The period of his stay must have been comparatively much shorter.

During his tour, Śaṅkara must have come across quite a number of persons belonging to different schools of thought, who must have been dealt with in the manner indicated by Mādhava. One common feature seems to have been that these theorissts were more or less theologians, who looked upon only a part of Reality as the full Reality itself, the reason being

their ignorance of the latter. This limitedness of their approach brought in their attachment to the various practices of external import. The only thing that Śaṅkara did was to widen the horizon of their vision so that they could take in the full Reality at a glance and the moment they did so, they realised their mistake and cast off their attachment to their erstwhile prejudices and parochial opinions and practices, such as branding the body with marks & c. Śaṅkara's triumph over Maṇḍana and Prabhākara must already have had its tremendous impression on the minds of the people. Yet there are die-hards always and in every field and Śaṅkara must have driven home to them the truth of his doctrines at he did earlier - perhaps with much greater ease.

This then is my view of Śaṅkara's tour. It is also supported by what Citsukha is stated to have said about the order of the mutts established by Śaṅkara. According to Citsukha, the mutts were established in the following order :

(1) द्वारका (490 B.C.) (2) ज्योतिर (485 B.C.) (3) गोवर्धन (484 B.C.)

(4) शृङ्गेरी (483 B.C.) (5) काञ्ची (481 B.C.)

Even if we may not accept the various dates of establishment of the mutts, there should be no objection to the acceptance of the order of their establishment, which shows a much more natural account of Śaṅkara's tour than what is done by the other biographers.

I shall now turn to the main incidents described as having taken place during this tour. Certain incidents like Śaṅkara's mother's death, Hastāmalaka's surrender, have already been described according to the order in which they have been narrated by Citsukha and other biographers have been shown to have misplaced and mistimed the same. I shall, therefore, turn to the other incidents during the tour, leaving the question of the establishment of the mutts to be discussed at the end of the chapter.

Biographers describe five incidents during the tour and they relate to (1) the encounter with Ugra-bhairava (2) encounter with Krakaca Kāpālin (3) Bhagandara - disease (4) the disciple Toṭaka and (5) writing of works by Śaṅkara's disciples, Sureśvara & c. I shall deal with them in their order.

(1) The story of Ugra-bhairava is described by Vyā., Tiru. D., Rāja.D., Mādhava, Sadānanda, G.V.K. and Nīla. Param. and Bāla Gopāla are incomplete. The main story is common.

It is said that some worshipper of Bhairava approached Śaṅkara for his head, which Śaṅkara agreed to part with but in a secluded place, lest his disciples should foil the attempt. When he was about to cut off Śaṅkara's head, somehow Padmapāda foiled his attempt and the Bhairava's worshipper had to loss his head at Padmapāda's hands.

The details of this story, however, differ.

Vyā. and G.V.K. tell us that some Bharava approached Śaṅkara and served him very well for a long time. Seeing that Śaṅkara was pleased with his services, he requested Śaṅkara to give him his head for making an offerings of it to his God Bharava. He thought that if he offered the whole of the head of a human being, he would please his God quickly.[4] Śaṅkara immediately agreed but asked him to secure his object in some secluded place. G.V.K. tells us that at that time, Padmapāda was sitting in a Nṛsimha temple, meditating on his Guru[5] and coming to know of this deed by Yogic vision (Yogadṛṣṭi) appeared on the scene and stopped it. According to Vyā., Sanandana seems to have been nearby though the other disciples had gone for bath, for, he is said to have seen Bhairava with his hands raised to cut off Śaṅkara's head and immediately coming forward, he stopped the deed.

Tiru. D., Rāja.D., Mād. and Nīla. do not refer to any previous service by the Bhairava, whom they refer to as a Kāpālika and not as a Bhairava, which difference also is noteworthy. These writers place the incident just after Śaṅkara's return to Śṛṅgeri after Maṇḍana's defeat and conversion while according to Vyā. and G.V.K., it took place after Padmapāda's return from his pilgrimage. According to Mād., Śaṅkara had just finished his teaching of his commentary, when some Kāpālika approached him and praised him as one of those persons who assumed bodily existence for the good of the people only. He then told him that out of a desire to go to Kailāsa with the human body, he practised severe penance and propitiated Lord Siva, who pleasued with him, appeared before him and told him that his object would be accomplished if he offered Him the head of a sovereign king or of an omniscient person. The first one he never hoped to get but Śaṅkara could help him with his head and attain eternal fame. Śaṅkara agreed, subject to the condition of solitude, to which Bhairava also agreed. Finding one such occasion, the two repaired to a secluded place and Śaṅkara entered a trance. The Bhairava lifted his sword (according to Vyā. and G.V.K., it was a trident-triśūla) Tiru. D. and Mād. tell us that Padmapāda (somehow) came to know of it and appeared on the scene.[6] Rāja. D. says that Sanandana came there by chance and saw the deed which was about to be executed.[7] Sadānanda tells us that a born Siddha that he was, Sanandana came to know about it all and just hid himself in the vicinity of his master but the Bhairava was not aware of his presence.[8] According to Nīlakaṇṭha, Sanandana had seen those two persons talking and suspected some foul play, since he was surprised that Śaṅkara who did not hide anything from him otherwise, did not tell him what passed between the Kāpālika and himself. He, therefore, decided to lie in hiding, without their knowledge and to watch all the activities

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4. Vyā.'s Ś.V.-IX : 38 G.V.K. - III : 49
5. Vide - III : 53.
6. Vide शं.भ्यु by Tiru. D. - VII : 25 and सं.शं.जय by Mād. XI : 36
7. Vide शं.भ्यु by Rāja. D. - IV : 68
8. Vide शां. वि. सार by Sadā - XI : 24, 25.

of his Guru, Then, Śaṅkara went for bath to a secluded water-reservoir, where, after his bath, he went into a trance and the Kāpālika came forward. Just then, Padmapāda also came forward and killed Kāpālika. Here, all the seven biographers are agreed that Lord Nṛsiṁha manifested Himself through Padmapāda and He killed the Bhairava, and after that, He gave out a tremendous roar which brought Śaṅkara to physical consciousness. Then Śaṅkara praised Him and the manifestation subsided. The biographers (not all) seem to suggest that Padmapāda himself was in an ecstatic or trance condition, during the period of manifestation. Rāja. D., Mād., Sadā. and Nīla. narrate, hereafter, an additional story as follows :

When Nṛsiṁha killed the Kāpālika with a roar, the other disciples gathered on the spot and seeing what Padmapāda had done, asked him as to how he had come by that power. Padmapāda narrated to them a story from his earlly life. He had been to some forest on a mountain top for practising penance, by meditating on God Nṛsiṁha. One day, some young Kirāta came to him and asked him what he wanted. He told the Kirāta the purpose of his penance. The Kirāta, thereupon, entered the forest and in a short time, brought forth that god, bound by creepers. Padmapāda was surprised and asked Him how He had become the slave of this ordinary Kirāta, when even Mahariṣis were unable to find Him. The Lord told him that not even Brahmā had meditated upon HIm with such concentration as the Kirāta had done and hence He had submitted to him. He then blessed Padmapāda and disappeared. From that time onwards, Padmapāda told his co-disciples, Lord Nṛsiṁha appeared before him whenever he remembered Him and He had done so now.

In this Bhairava - story, as already pointed out, two points are common to all the biographers and they are :

(i) the central part of the story, relating to an attempt on Śaṅkara's life and

(ii) Padmapāda saving the life of his Guru by resorting to some unusual power - Nṛsiṁha is mentioned by all.

The first of these two parts can be readilly admitted, even though about an equal number of biographers omits this story altogether. It is very difficult to decide about the second part of the story. It will be easily seen that gradually, the suprnatural element is being added to the story and the narration made more elaborate. Thus, Vyā. tells us that the Bhairava wanted Śaṅkara's head to please his God by making an offering of it to Him. Tiru. D. adds the Bhairava's penance for going to Kailasa with his human body and Lord Śiva's appearance before him and so on. Rāja. D. adds the story from Padmapāda's early life to account for his superhuman feat while G.V K. makes Padmapāda sit in the Nṛsiṁha-temple and divine the incident by his Yogic powers. Mādhava has put all these things together and produced his narrative, which Sadā. and Nīla. have followed. Sadā. introduces Padmapāda's born Siddhatva to account for his knowledge of the incident about to take place. Rāja.D. brings him there by chance and Nīla. by design.

The version of Mādhava is, as usual, nothing but a combination of stanzas, borrowed from Vyā, Tiru. D. and Rāja.D. with not more than 15 stanzas of his own in a full chapter of 75 stanzas, which he devotes to this minor story. The arrangement also of the stanzas borrowed is not cleverly done.[9] Then again, the Kāpālika was killed by Padmapāda during the Āvirbhāva condition. Mādhava actually refers to him as one who had forgotten his mortal state (विस्मृतमर्त्यभाव) to which he returned after Śaṅkara praised Lord Nṛsiṁha and the Āvirbhāva subsided. If this was so, how did he answer the question of his colleagues by narrating the story from his early life, which presumes that he was in a normal condition? There is no contradiction in Vyā., who also refers to विस्मृतमर्त्यभाव of Padmapāda because he does not make Padmapāda narrate the story from his early life. Similarly, Rāja. D. is not guilty of the contradiction because, from the very beginning to the end, he has kept Sanandana and Nṛhari separate and the former in a normal state. Sanandana only remembers Nṛhari, who immediately appears and does the deed. According to Vyā., Padmapāda had changed form and assumed the figure of a lion and Śaṅkara, after he returned to consciousness, pacified this form of Padmapāda. Again, it is very surprising to find that according to Mādhava, the roar of the lion and the killing of the Bhairava, which bring the far-off disciples to the spot, fail to rouse the Guru from the trance, that it (trance) continues while Padmapāda was recounting the story from his early life, in the very presence of Nṛhari, who seems to have been standing all the time, a silent listener along with the disciples. All these details show how very unnatural the story becomes in the hands of Mādhava in particular and also the other three. Vyā.'s version is comparatively much more natural than those of the others.

Regarding the truth of the appearance of Lord Nṛsiṁha, there is much room for doubt. No doubt, Citsukha says Sanandana was born by the grace of that Lord, for whose temple Ahobila, the place of his birth, was famous, but the way in which the whole story of His appearance has been narrated creates a big doubt about the authenticity of the same. It may, at the most be said, that by constant and concentrated practice, Padmapāda was able to develop, at his will, some such fierce mood of tremendous power and when he came to know of the intention and design of the Bhairava, he used that power to kill the Bhairava and to save the life of his master. This whole thing was later poetically described by the biographers in the present form.

(2) The second is the story of the Krakaca Kāpalin. Most curiously, it is described by those who omit the first story and four of those who narrate the first make no reference to this one.[10]

In this story also, the main substance is the same. During his tour, Śaṅkara came across

9. Compare the stanzas : XI : 11, 14, 17 and 18, which correspond to Tiru.D. - VII : 11, Rāja. D, : IV : 66; Vyā. - IX - 40 and Tiru. D. - VII : 15 respectively. Many more instances of this type can be shown.

a band of Kāpālikas, who were worshippers of Bhairava and wore on their bodies, skulls of human beings, signs of the trident and the Crescent Moon. They were addicted to wine and perhaps women also, without any Karmācāra. They looked upon Bhairava as their God and enjoyment of the senses was the objective of life. When they saw Śaṅkara, their leader (Krakaca, according to Mād., Sadā., Br. Saras. and Nīla. and Vaṭukanātha, according to Anant., Cid. and Vallī.) called upon him to embrace their creed and when Śaṅkara refused, a tussle ensued. Ultimately their leader invoked their God, who, however, on appearing on the scene, upheld Śaṅkara's doctrines and asked him to set right the Kāpālikas and with that, He disappeared. The Kāpālikas, thereupon, surrendered to Śaṅkara and became his followers. This is the main story. Now the differences.

The difference in the name of the Kāpālika leader has already been noted. According to Anant. and Vallī., this encounter took place at Ujjain, according to Cid., at Ramasetu and according to the rest, in Karnataka. Mād. and Nīla. tell us that from Kāñcī, Śaṅkara went to the Vidarbha-Capital, where the king of the place, Krathakaiśika (king's name) welcomed him and Śaṅkara converted all the Kāpālikas there to his view. When, however, he expressed to the king his desire to go to Karnaṭaka, the king advised him against doing so, for fear of the Kāpālikas. Śaṅkara, however, was accompanied by King Sudhanvan, who ruled out any fear on that account. Śaṅkara, then, went to Karnāṭaka on his mission. Sadānanda takes Śaṅkara straight to Karnāṭaka from Kāñcī, omitting all reference to Vidarbha. Again, Cid. gives the name of the king, who accompanied Śaṅkara as Bhojasinga. Anant. and Vallī. do not mention any king at all.

The version of the actual encounter also differs a little. According to Anant., Vallī. and Cid., when Vaṭukanātha approached Śaṅkara, he tried to show him how the Kāpālika view was better than Śaṅkara's and how, if he would accept it, all his followers also would do the same. But Śaṅkara censured him for his view, devoid of any ācāra and outside the pale of the Vedas and at the hands of his disciples beat him. Vaṭukanatha invoked the help of his God, who immediately appeared on the scene but Śaṅkara pleaded before Him why he had treated His followers in that manner. Cid. tells us that when this God appeared, Śaṅkara's brahmin followers and King Bhojasing fled from the place. God Bhairava accepted Śaṅkara's explanation and upheld his doctrine but asked him to forgive and convert the Kāpālika to Advaita. With these words, He disappeared and the Kāpālikas and their leaders immediately surrendered to Śaṅkara, who initiated them into the Vedic way of life at the hands of his followers like Padmapāda.

According to Mādhava, Sadā., Nila, and Br. Saras. when the Kāpālika leader called upon Śaṅkara to follow his creed, king Sudhanvan drove him away. Thereupon, the Bhairava

10. Anantā., Cid., Mād., Sadā., Br. Saras., Nīla. and Vallī. narrate this story. It will be noticed that Mād., Sadā. and Nīla. have given the first story also.

called out all his followers, who rushed upon Śaṅkara and his disciples. King Sudhanvan met them by his own force but the brahmin followers were afraid of the Kāpālikas and went to Śaṅkara for protection. Śaṅkara reduced them all to ashes by means of a hunkāra. Krakaca, seeing the destruction of his followers, put some wine in a human skull, remembered his God Bhairava, drank half the wine and invoked his God to come and kill the brahmins and Śaṅkara. Bhairava appeared but on seeing Śaṅkara, blamed Krakaca for offending Him and struck him on his head. Br. Saras. tells us that He actually killed Krakaca. Śaṅkara praised Bhairava who, then, disappeared.

(3) The next story of the Bhagandara-discuss is narrated by Vyā., Rāja. D., Mād., Sadā., G.V.K. and Nīla. of whom Vyā. is the only earlier writer. These writers again fall into two groups roughly, viz. (1) Vyā., Rāja. D. and G.V.K. and (2) Mād., Sadā. and Nīla. The two groups agree only regarding the fact that Śaṅkara suffered from the disease. Except Rāja. D., all the five writers place this incident towards the end of Śaṅkara's life.

According to the first group, Śaṅkara just contracted the disease, no reason being specified for it. (Only the commentary on G.V.K. says that it was due to excess of heat[11]). Then we have the story that Śaṅkara at first refused medical help but the disciples pressed him for it and at last he conceded their request. Accordingly, they went to some king's place and brought royal physicians[12] for treating Śaṅkara. They tried for a long time but failed to cure him and returned to their homes. Vyā. and G.V.K. tell us that Śaṅkara then remembered the Āśvins, who approached Indra and said that they were physicians of the Gods but were now summoned by a mortal on earth. Indra then told them that Śaṅkara was Lord Śiva incarnate[13] and so advised them to attend to him. The Āśvins came and gave Śaṅkara some medicine which cured him of the disease. The Āśvins then disappeared. According to Rāja. D., the Āśvins came immediately they were summoned, sprinkled some nectar over the affected portion and freed Śaṅkara from the disease.

According to the second group, when Abhinavagupta was defeated by Śaṅkara, he thought of bringing about Śaṅkara's death by some means and for that purpose practised black magic (Abhicāra-karmam), which resulted into Śaṅkara contracting the disease. Then Vyā.'s story of the physicians coming and going back is repeated. Śaṅkara then meditated upon Lord Śiva, who sent down Āśvins to treat him. They, however, told Śaṅkara that the disease was not physical but was caused by some other person and hence could not be diagnosed. With those words, they went back to their abode. Then, Padmapāda, inspite of Śaṅkara's opposition, repeated his Siddhamantra and cured Śaṅkara.

According to Br. Saras., when Vyāsa came to Śaṅkara to see his commentary and

11. Vide Comm. on G.V.K. - III : 14 - उष्णातिशयात् ।
12. Rāja. D. refers to more than a thousand having been brought - vide his शं. भ्रु. III : 39.
13. Vyā. here recounts a summary of Śaṅkara's life upto that point, right from Śivaguru's penance.

ultimately disclosed himself to him, he remembered Brahmā, whom he told that Śaṅkara was suffering from Mūla-roga. Brahmā, at the instance of Vyāsa, immediately gave relief to Śaṅkara and also blessed him with long life.

The differences in the versions are too obvious to need specific mention.

These three incidents have been treated together because they represent some attempts that were made on Śaṅkara's life, when he was found invincible in argument. Men like Śaṅkara set at naught and expose many a luminary of their times, who, till then have been living on the blood of society. The exposed persons cannot stand and prove themselves against the new figures and finally, they are left with the only alternative of trying to do away with them altogether. Some such thing may have happened to Śaṅkara. We are told by Tiru. D. and Mādhava that while some surrendered to Śaṅkara of their own accord, others of a meaner temperament only waited for his death. It is quite likely that some persons from this group tried to kill Śaṅkara in the manner of the Bhairava or Kāpālika and also perhaps by practising some black magic. The actual stories, however, as they have come down to us, look highly suspicious, overlaid as they are with the supernatural, about which also there is no agreement. The last incident looks most suspicious and it is very difficult, if at all it is possible, to get at its core of truth. Hemacandra tells us a story the Gośāla of the Ājīvika sect threw a tejoleśyā on Mahāvīra, who, as an effect of it, contracted. (Praktātisāra). Gośāla predicted that Mahāvīra would die after six months. Then, at the instance of a disciple Siṁha, Mahāvīra brought a Pakva-keṭāha from a Śrāvikā called Revati and got relief. It is possible that the Bhagandara-story is a copy of this story from Jain literature. At any rate, these three stories cannot be interpreted beyond attempts on Śaṅkara's life, the exact form of the attempts being uncertain.

(4) In the vicinity of the Ugra-bhairava incident, we get the story of Toṭaka. Excepting Anant. and Vallī., almost all the biographers have given this story which, however, is, as usual, not uniformly narrated.

According to Vyā., Govindanātha, Rāja. D. and G.V.K., Toṭaka or Giri was Śaṅkara's disciple, who followed him like his shadow and served him in every conceivable manner. These writers, except Rāja. D., connect his service with Śaṅkara's Bhagandara disease and say that he did not betray any feeling of disgust (Jugupsā) on account of Śaṅkara's clothes becoming dirty due to the disease. Śaṅkara was pleased with his devotion and service and bestowed upon him his divine grace. Giri in consequence, praised Śaṅkara in stanzas in the Toṭakametre and became klnown as Toṭakācārya.

Cidvilāsa places this incident at Kāśi, long before Śaṅkara's encounter with Kumārila and Maṇḍana. His version is as follows :

At Kāśī, lived a brahmin called Viśvanāthādhvarin, whose son was known as Kalānātha.

This son came to know of Śaṅkara's arrival at the place and also his fame. He, therefore, went and surrendered himself to Śaṅkara, whom he praised in eight stanzas in the toṭaka metre. Thereafter, he stayed with Śaṅkara and served him very diligently. He desired to become a disciple of the order of Padmapāda and Hastāmalaka. Śaṅkara saw his devotion and service and by his grace, rendered his intellect pure. Kalānātha, then, requested Śaṅkara to initiate him into Sannyāsa, for which purpose, he said, he had approached him. Śaṅkara was delighted to hear this and actually embraced him with his hands. He then made him a Sannyāsin as deisred by him and said that on account of the stanzas in the toṭaka metre, uttered by him, he conferred upon him he new title Toṭakācārya. Br. Saras. follows Cidvilāsa.

According to Tiru. D., Mād., Sadā. and Nīla., Śaṅkara, after coming to Śṛṅgeri, used to lecture to his disciples on his own commentary on the Br. Sūtras. One of his disciples, by name Giri, was dull in studies but was very particular about serving his Guru, Śaṅkara, in every possible way and with utmost humility. One day, he had gone to the river for washing Śaṅkara's wearing apparel and was a bit late to return. Śaṅkara waited for him to come and attend the lecture. Padmapāda, on coming to know why Śaṅkara was delaying, said to him that Giri was a dunce, like a wall and it mattered little whether he was present or absent. The lecture should, therefore, be commenced. Śaṅkara realised that Padmapāda had become proud and decided to humble him. Just when Giri was returning, Śaṅkara cast at him a glance of grace and mentally transferred to him (Sadā. refers to Śaktipāta) all the lores. As a result of it, Giri approached Śaṅkara, fell prostrate before him and gave expression to a song of five stanzas in toṭaka metre, which surprised all, including Padmapāda. The latter realised the power of his Guru and gave up his pride. Giri, thenceforward, became known as Toṭakācārya.

The differences in the version, here also, need no specification. Inspite of the greater agreement between the first and the third groups of biographers, the version of Cidvilāsa appears to be far more natural than the last one, which appears forced. The connection with the Bhagandara - disease also seems to be unwarranted. The hymn in the toṭaka-metre is mentioned by all but given by none except Cidvilāsa. All the biographers seem to say that it was Śaṅkara's praise and yet it is all philosophy. The hymn given by Cid. is really worth its name and is so beautiful for its humility and yearning for spiritual freedom, which really are the things expected in such an address. One or two stanzas are indeed worth a quotation :

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writing of commentaries on his works required more peaceful time than could be had so long as the touring continued. It, therefore, seems more natural to hold that the writing was done after Śaṅkara had settled dowm peacefully at Śṛṅgeri though we cannot admit that the tour was still to be undertaken as said by Cid. and Co.

Govind. and Cid. have dealt with the actual story very briefly. They simply tell us that Sureśvara wrote Naiṣkarmyasiddhi and Vārtikas on two Upaniṣads and Sanandana wrote a commentary on Śaṅkara's Br. Sūtra-Bhāṣya. Cid. is so vague as to state merelly that Śaṅkara caused Vārtika to be written by him only (i.e. Sureśvara) on his own Bhāṣyas.[14]

The remaining biographers, who narrate the story, give almost an identical version, except for minor differences. They say that Sureśvara approached Śaṅkara probably with the express object of getting his permission to write Vārtikas on his commentarys on the Vedānta-Sūtras. Śaṅkara gladly gave him permission to do so and he went away.

According to Vyā., Rāja.D., Mād. and Nīla., no one was present when this permission was given but Sadā. says that Śaṅkara was surrounded by his disciples, when Sureśvara approached him. In all the cases, however, the other disciples object to Sureśvara's writing Vārtikas on Sūtra-bhāṣya only after he had left, on the ground that he was all his life a follower of Karma-mārga and had become a sannyāsin by compulsion and not of his own free will. As such, he was bound to stress the Karman-aspect in his Vārtikas and thereby spoil the import of Śaṅkara's commentary. Disciples like Citsukha suggested the name of Padmapāda, while according to Mād., Sadā. and Nīla., Padmapāda, suggested the names of Ānandagiri and Hastāmalaka. Śaṅkara ruled out all these names and said that Sureśvara alone was competent for the work but he had no desire to go against the desire of so many of his disciples. He, therefore, asked Sureśvara not to write those Vārtikas but bade him write an independent treatise on Advaita Vedānta, which would prove to the disciples what he really had become after conversion. He then asked Padmapāda to write only a ṭīkā on his Sūtra-Bhāṣya. Padmapāda dd so in two parts known as Pancapādikā and Vṛtti, while Sureśvara wrote Naiṣkarmasiddhi. Pleased with Sureśvara's work, Śaṅkara asked him to write Vārtikas on his commentaries on the Ccāndogya and Bṛhadāraṇya Upaniṣads, which he accordingly did. According to Cid. & Co., Sureśvara pronounced a curse that no Vārtikas, if ever written on Sūtrabhāṣya by any other person, would remain on earth or gain currency. He then expostulated with Śaṅkara upon the baselessness of the other disciples' objection. Śaṅkara admitted the force of his arguments and told him that by the force of destiny (Prārabdha), he would be reborn as Vācaspati and would then write a commentary on his Sūtrabhāṣya, which (comm.) would remain on earth till the end of time.[15] Most curiously, Śaṅkara also told him that only Pancapādika of Sanandana or Padmapāda would remain known while the other part of his commentary would be lost. G.V.K. tells us that when Sureśvara heard these words, he requested Śaṅkara to allow the whole of that commentary to remain on earth.

According to Mād., Sadā. and Nīla., the other disciples like Ānandagiri also wrote works like commentaries on Śaṅkara's Bhāṣyas and also independent works on Vedānta. No one, however, specifies even one of these works.

It is clear from these versions that Śaṅkara had a great desire to have Vārtikas written on his 'Sūtrabhāṣya' by Sureśvara alone but was very strongly opposed by his disciples, whose wishes he did not overrule. Perhaps, as Śri S.S. Sūryanārāyana Śāstri says, "there is some probability in that part of the story which mentions.... (that) he (i.e. Sureśvara) had to undergo a rigid probation by writing the Bṛhadaranya-bhāṣya-Vārtika and Naiṣkarmya Siddhi before he was accepted by his co-disciples."[16]

Sureśvara's three works, Vārtikas on the two Upaniṣads - Bhāṣyas and Naiṣkarmyasiddhi and Padmapāda's Pañcapādika (ṭīkā on Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on the first five pādas of Br. Sūtras) exist even today. Ānandagiri's commentary on Śaṅkaras Bhāṣyas as we have the same today, was written much later than Śaṅkara's time, even if the Kāñcī guru-paraṁparā and Ānandagiri-Anandajñāna identity are accepted. The commentary going under the name of Ānandagiri is by a disciple of Śuddhānanda and not Śaṅkara. Not much importance, therefore, need be attached to the biographers' statement regarding the works of Śaṅkara's other disciples. If the story of the disciples' jealousy in this connection is true, it reflects discredit on men like Citsukha and Padmapāda, who are reported to have been spiritually highly advanced and devoted disciples of Śaṅkara, in whose discretion they should have had greater faith.

Mādhava, in his zest for borrowing from other works, makes Sanandana writte two works, viz., Pañcapādika (following Vyāsācala) and Vijaya Diṇḍima, commentary on Vyāsa-Sūtra (following Rāja. D.). Prof.H. Upādhyāya has not noticed this little but important particular and has credited Padmapāda with writing Vijaya-diṇḍima, an account of Śaṅkara's Digvijaya. He says that it is only heard that he composed such a work.[17] Except this single reference in Mādhava, who has only copied Rāja. D., there is no support whatever for the statement of Prof. Upādhyāya and if that is his only source, he has evidently not followed Mād.'s borrowing properly.

We are told by Vyā., Mād., Sadā. and Nīla. that after the writing by the disciples was over, Padmapāda requested Śaṅkara for permission to go on a pilgrimage. According to Vyā. and Mād., a very long discussion ensued between the two, regarding the advisability or necessity of going on a pilgrimage. Sadā., cuts the discussion short very much while Nīla. simply tells us that Padmapada took Śaṅkara's permission for pilgrimage and set out. Then they describe his pilgrimage from the north to the south. During the course of the same, he went to his maternal uncle's house in the south. The uncle was very glad to see him after a

14. Read : कारयामास तेनैव स्वीयभाष्यौघवार्तिकम् ॥ शं.वि.वि. - XXIV : 38.
15. Vide - Rāja. D. - II : 60; Mād. - XIII : 73; Sadā. - XIII : 79 and Nīla. Ch.V.

very long time and welcomed him warmly. It so happened, however, that the uncle was a Prābhākara Mīmāṁsaka and when Padmapāda showed him his own commentary on Śaṅkara's 'Sutra-bhāṣya', containing as it did a complete refutation of Prabhākara's views, the uncle felt very sorry but perhaps he also found that he would not be able to counter-refute his nephew's arguments. When, therefore, Padmapāda set out for Rameśvara, leaving his books including his ṭīkā on the 'Sūtra-bhāṣya, in his uncle's charge, the uncle burnt down his own house along with the work of Padmapāda, evidently with the object of obviating any suspicion in the matter. When, on his return to the uncle's house, Padmapāda came to know about the destruction of his work, he felt sorry but started writing it out again. Alarmed by this, the uncle poisoned his food so as to affect Padmapāda's intellect permanently. Padmapāda was no more able to work as efficiently as before. He felt extremely sorry and left the place. He came in search of Śaṅkara and on meeting him, narrated to him the fate of his work and his uncle's suspected foul play. Śaṅkara then asked him to take down what he remembered of the work, when it was read out to him immediately after its completion by Padmapāda. He dictated the first part viz., the Pañcapādika, to the great delight of Padma.

According to Rāja. D., there was no question of Padmapāda going on a pilgrimage or of his discussion with Śaṅkara on that point. Padmapāda had just gone to his uncle's house, when he showed his ṭīkā to the uncle. During the night, the house and the work were reduced to ashes. Padmapāda referred to a rumour that the uncle had purposely burnt down his house, to destroy Padma.'s work without incurring any blame. He also referred to some poison having been mixed with his food. When he narrated this affair to Śaṅkara, the latter consoled him and then dictated to him the Pañcāpadika portion of his ṭīkā.

G.V.K. tells us that Padmapāda only lost his work, while he had been to his maternal uncle's house, on his way to Śaṅkara's place. Padmapāda clearly told Śaṅkara that his uncle was sorry to read his ṭīkā and burnt his house though he referred to the uncle as the stealer of is book.[18] He also referred to poisoning of food on account of which he could not reproduce the work. Śaṅkara, then, wrote out (not dictated) the Pañcapādika portion, which had been read out to him before.

It is worth noting that Govindanātha refers to a similar discussion regarding pilgrimage but it is between Śaṅkara and Govindamuni, sometime after initiation. He does not narrate this story of Padmapāda's work being destroyed by his uncle. It is also to be noted tht Cidvilāsa also (not to mention Anant., Br. Saras., and Vallī.) do not give this story at all.

The story of Padmapāda's pilgrimage appears improbable - particularly the part relating to the discussion between Padma. and Śaṅkara. Perhaps, that is why Sadā. curtailed the discussion while Nīla. dropped it altogether. It seems more natural that a disciple like

16. Vide his book 'Śaṅkarācārya', pp. 18 and 19.

17. Vide his श्री शङ्कराचार्य - p.8.

Padma. would ever wish to be in the company of his master and would never think of leaving him for pilgrimage - much less would he keep arguing with Śaṅkara over its advantages and its necessity. The latter part of the story, however, relating to the destruction of Padma.'s work is not altogether impossible. Fanatical devotion to any creed is capable of such an extremism, even to the point of self-destruction and even though the story of food poisoning is referred to as a mere heresay (aitihya) by Vyā. and Mād., that also may have been attempted. It, however, seems that by the grace of God, Padma. was able somehow to recover or reproduce the first portion of his work, which has survived to our own day. The version of Rāja. D. and G.V.K., therefore, appears to be more reliable than that of Vyā. and Co. It may even be said that the version of Rāja. D. and G.V.K. is even better than an alternative interpretation that the whole episode is only an attempt to account for the loss of the remaining portion of Padma.'s work, in the course of time.

Śaṅkara's mutts

Even like the triumphant tour, the establishment of mutts at various places in India for the propagation of his theories was one of the main acts of Śaṅkara.

Recently, there has been a great controversy over the number of mutts established by Śaṅkara. No one denies that he established four mutts at Śṛṅgeri, Dwāraka, Jagannāthapurī and Badarikāśrama, each of which was placed in charge of one of his principal disciples. The dispute arose when Kāñcī people began to claim that a fifth and a parent mutt was established by Śaṅkara at Kāñcī. Till then, Śṛṅgeri-mutt was regarded as the first and the parent mutt established by Śaṅkara, though the other three also were regarded as equally independent ones. I have tried to collect some material on the subject and tried to get at the core of the fight by contacting the heads of the two mutts and also some other persons. As, however, the material has not been completely made available to me so far, I have to be content with stating the two positions and to deal with the question mainly by reference to what is gathered from Śaṅkara-Vijayas and the material that has come to my hands.

The controversy seems to be pretty old but probably took a concrete shape some 120 years back, when the question of Tatanka-pratistha of the Goddess Akhilāṇḍeśvarī at Jambūkeśvarain came up. The facats of this case have already been given in Chapter IV. The Śṛṅgeri-mutt lost to the Kāñcī-mutt, whose claim was upheld by the court. Śrī Sunderamaiah, a pleader from Tinneveli and a champion of the Śṛṅgeri mutt, says that the decision of the court was only Jus Tertil and does not prove the right of the Kāñcī mutt to the performance of the pratiṣṭhā.[19]

The controversy got a fresh impetus about 25 years ago i.e. about 1934 A.D. when Kāñcī-Swāmiji went to the north, first to Allāhabad and then to Kāśī. It was during this visit

18. Read : पुस्तकहारकः G.V.K. - III : 4
'पुस्तकस्य हारकः हर्ताऽभूत्' - भाव. 0

that the controversy regarding the validity of the Kāñcī mutt as the fifth one, established by Śaṅkara, flared up. Partisans of Śṛṅgeri-mutt published a booklet called "श्रीजगद्गुरुशाङ्करमठविमर्श" in which the signatories challenged the claim of the Kāñcī-mutt on several grounds. There was lot of manouvering on both sides - particularlly on that of the Kāñcī people and ultimately, the latter produced two works, viz., (1) श्रीगङ्गादिविजयतीर्थयात्रा and (2) श्रीशाङ्करापीठतत्त्वदर्शनम्. I have been able to get copies of these two works but could not get one of the 'Vimarśa', The second of thte two pro-Kāñcī works is an answer to the 'Vimarśa' and is signed by no less than eighty Śāstrins of Benares.

Śṛṅgeri position is that Śaṅkara established four mutts only and they did not include one at Kāñcī. The Śṛṅgeri-swāmiji was most emphatic on this point. Śri Sunderamaiah tells us that "in the year 1886 (stated to be Vikrama Śaka = 1829 A.D.), there was a conference of Pandits and Maṭhādhipatis at Benares, otherwise known as Benāres Vyavasthā of Vikrama Śaka. It was then resolved that Ādi Śaṅkara founded only four mutts and the new claim of the Kāñcī-Kumbakonam people was thereby negatived. This resolution of 1886 has been signed by 79 heads of mutts and Pandits, five of whom happen to be the Pandits of south India.[20] The learned pleader adds on the next page that "this resolution of 1886 was confirmed with greater vehemence in 1934",[21] when once more, at the meeting on 30.9.1934 in Biharipuri mutt, the Pandits came to the conclusion that they could not go back upon their earlier Benāres Vyavasthā of 1886 (Vikrama Śaka).

This contention is based on the following arguments mainly :

(1) No biography except Śaṅkara Vijaya of Anant. nor any extant Maṭhāmmāya testifies to the establishment of a mutt at Kāñcī by Ādi Śaṅkara. Anant.'s work is an unreliable document and its statements are valueless.

(2) The Kumbakonam mutt is of a very recent origin, say after about 1720 A.D. and prior to that, nothing like a Kāñcī Śaṅkara mutt existed. The socalled mutt in Kāñcī itself is very late - in fact it came into existence after the Upaniṣad-Brahmendra mutt which came into being about 200 years back.

Shri Sunderamaiah quotes approvingly Mr. T. Gopinath Rao's remark that "it is only at a comparatively later period, a new matha seems to have been erected in Śiva-Kāñcī and that the tradition of their removal to Tanjore is comparatively a recent one and consequently (not?) worth believing."[22] He even seems to agree with MM K.V. Panthulu who "seems to have stated in a condemnatory language, that the Kumbakonam mutt bought a Śūdra house in Kāñcī and newly built a mutt there in the latter half of the 19th century.[23]

(3) The so-called Gururatnamālā, purporting to record the genealogy of the heads of Kāñcī-pīṭha, is a faked document, which only lists together eminent men in different fields as successive heads of the Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha. Śri Sunderamaiah's friend, Śri A.

Chidambaran Iyah Garu, has written an extensive essay,[24] still unpublished, on this question of Kāmakoṭi claim. The writer has tried his best to disprove the list of the heads of Kāñcī mutt by a rigorous analysis of each Guru's particulars as supplied by Gururatnamālā and Punyaśloka-manjari. Mr. Sunderamiah himself has tried to show serious discrepancies in the Guru-paraṁpara as published by the mutt and by a Kumbakonam Śāstrin - Mr. Ātreya Kṛṣṇa Śāstrigal.

(4) Indra-Sarasvati order has no sanction of the scriptures.

(5) After distribution of the four Māhāvākyas, the fifth mutt is left without any Mahāvākya for initiation.

(6) The Kumbakonam mutt possessed in 1825 A.D. about 125 copper - plate grants, each consisting of five or six plates.[25] As against this, only ten grants were published by Shri T.A. Gopinātha Rao in 1916 A.D. The rest of the grant - plates are reported to have been melted down for preparing copper - vessels. Mr. Sunderamaiah's inference from this is that the alleged possession of the grants in the hands of the Kumbakonam agraharam should have been only as trustees or agents of the Śṛṅgeri mutt and "the new claim assumed (by the Kāñcī mutt) in later years.... might have been the cause of the wanton destruction of all the 115 grants because they should have been given to Śṛṅgeri Śārada mutt itself.[26] He has tried to subject all the grants, printed and published by Mr. G. Rao, to a rigorous analysis and to show that "the grants now published in 1916 do not support the new claim of the mutt, which may be taken only as an honourable encroachment on the properties of the Śṛṅgeri mutt.[27]

I shall now first deal with the evidence supplied by Śaṅkara Vijayas and Maṭhāmnāyas and then turn to other sources and the relative validity of the two positions viz., of Śṛṅgeri and Kāñcī.

All Śaṅkara Vijayas agree that after converting Maṇḍana into a Sannyāsin, Śaṅkara, with his disciples, came down to Śṛṅgeri, where he stayed for a considerable period of time. Surprisingly enough, however, biograhers like Vyā., Mād., Sadā. and Nīla. make no explicit reference to the establishment of a mutt by Śaṅkara at that place. Mādhava, at XIII : 65 - 69, refers to the creation of a prāsāda and establishment of Śāradā and at XVI : 93, to an āśrama at Śṛṅgerī. This is all that Mādhava has to say about Śaṅkara's establishment work at Śṛṅgeri but most evidently, this is not establishment of a mutt. If the establishment of a Kāmākṣī temple or even passing away at Kāñcī cannot be construed to mean that a mutt also was established at the place, establishment of a prāsāda for Śāradā and

19. Vide his booklet Sri Śṛṅgeri Śāradā mutt.
20. Vide his booklet Śrī Śṛṅgeri Śārada mutt, p.15.
21. Ibid., p.16.


Sri Saradamba Mandir, Sringeri

establishment of Śāradā cannot mean establishment of a mutt at Śṛṅgerī. Sadānanda does not refer to this prāsāda or āśrama also. Nīla. in Chapter V, refers to a prāsāda for Druhinaṅganā and a separate Śāradā-temple. Thus, none of these three, who are recognised adherents of the Śṛṅgeri mutt tells us in clear terms that a mutt was established at the place by Śaṅkara. In fact, all these writers describe Śaṅkara's visit to Dvāraka and Badarikāśrama but make absolutely no reference to the establishment of any mutt at any of these places.


Sri Saradāmba of Saradapitham at Sringeri

On the contrary, it is Anant., who is described by the partisans of the Śṛṅgeri mutt and Br.Saras., who is patently a pro-Kāñcī writer, that have clearly stated that Śaṅkara established a Śrīcakra or Vidyāyantra and a mutt at Śṛṅgeri. Cidvilāsa, who is followed by Br. Saras. says the same thing and Vallī., whose source of information is the same as that of Anant., clearly refers to a mutt as having been established by Śaṅkara at Śṛṅgeri, with Śāradā as the deity of the place. It has already been stated at the beginning of this chapter that according to Citsukha also, Śaṅkara established a mutt at Śṛṅgeri though he gives it as the fourth in the order of establishment. According to Pr. Ś.V. also, such a mutt was established at Śṛṅgeri.


Sri Kamakshi Devi of Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Peetham

The point in giving these details about the establishment of a mutt at Śṛṅgeri is to show that when the partisans of this mutt say that the establishment of a mutt at Kāñcī is not supported by any Śaṅkara Vijaya except that of Anant., they want to suggest that such an establishment ought to have been supported by writers like Mādhava. (In this case, it has to be remembered that these partisans are ot, at all aware of Śaṅkara Vijayas of Citsukha, Anandagiri, Br. Saras, or Vallī. or the relation of Śaṅkara-Vijayas of Anant., Mād., and Vallī. to Pr.Ś.V. of Anandagiri). If this is the suggestion, it recoils upon themselves in that none of these three

22. Vide Śrī Śṛṅgeri Śārada Mutt, p. 14.
23. Vide the booklet Śrī Śṛṅgeri Śārada Mutt, p. 14.
24. I was shown a type-written copy of this essay at Kālaṭi by Mr. K.S. Sundaramaiah.
25. Vide the article "The Kāmakoṭi Pitham - Historical value of Kāñcī records" by Shri M. Subramanyan in Hindu dated 27.6.1954.
26. Vide his Śrī Śṛṅgeri Śāradā mutt, p.19.
27. Vide, p.24.

or four works clearly refers to thte establishment of any mutt at Śṛṅgeri and on the contrary it is the pro-Kāñcī works that do it.

Coming to the question of a mutt, having been established by Śaṅkara at Kāñcī, it has to be admitted at the outset that except Anant. and Br. Saras., no other biographer makes any reference to such a mutt. It is, however, submitted that an argumentum ex-silentio has to be used very cautiously. It has already been shown that as many as four main biographers, three of them patent adherents of Śṛṅgeri Mutt, make no reference to the establishment of that mutt by Śaṅkara. In fact, none except Cidvilāsa and G.V.K. describe the establishment of any mutt at any of the three other main places. viz., Dvāraka, Badarikāśrama and Jagannāthapurī and yet no one has, so far, thought of denying or even questioning the establishment of any of these mutts by Śaṅkara. Hence, merely because the establishment of a mutt at Kāñcī is not described by anyone except one or two, we cannot conclude that no such mutt was ever created by Śaṅkara.

As to the reliability fo the two works of Anant. and Br. Saras., who refer to Kāñcī mutt, I have said enough in Chapter IV. Even though we may keep aside the work of Br. Saras., we cannot dispose of the work of Anant., which, as has been shown already, seems to follow Ānandagiri (Pr.Ś.V.) very closely, even more closely and faithfully than does Mādhava, who claims to have epitomised it but who seems to have taken great liberties with the same.

One circumstance is worth noting. Except Vyā. and Sadā. almost all the biographers tell us that Śaṅkara went to Kāñcī, where he established Kāmākṣī temple and founded the two cities, Śiva Kāñcī and Viṣṇu Kāñcī. Mādhava also refers to the creation of Suradhāma at Kāñcī by Śaṅkara and Dhanapati, his commentator, explains Mādhava's statement by a reference to what, most probably, was Pr.Ś.V. of Ānandagiri. The quotation refers to the two cities and to the temple but not to any mutt, as having been established there by Śaṅkara. Kāñcī, even to date, is included among the seven cities that confer salvation and in Śaṅkara's days also was a great seat of learning. It will be shown in the next chapter that the last two important events in Śaṅkara's life, viz., his ascending the Sarvajña-pīṭha and his passing away must have taken place at Kāñcī only. In these circumstances, it seems safe to infer that Śaṅkara also established a mutt for himself at the place where, in all probability, he passed the last days of his life and ultimately laid down his body. It is even possible to surmise that Dhanapati has deliberately omitted that portion from Ānand., which referred to the establishment of a mutt at Kāñcī.

A very curious circumstances is to be found in C.V.K. In Chapter III, it refers to Śaṅkara hlaving envisaged five mutts for his four disciples and himself.[28]

The commentary explains in similar terms.[29] The statement, coming as it does from a work of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt, clearly refers to a fifth mutt, envisaged by Śaṅkara for himself, though unfortunately, the work does not give the location of the fifth mutt. Kāñcī people also

hold that Śaṅkara established a fifth mutt for himself at Kāñcī. No one has, so far, tried to explain this reference in G.V.K., consistently with the Śṛṅgeri position with regard to the establishment of Kāñcī-mutt.

From the few Maṭhāmnyās collected by me, I find that almost no two Maṭhs agree in respect of the different particulars. In fact, the same Maṭhāmaya is given differently by different sources. The Śṛṅgeri Maṭha assigns Padmapāda to Dvāraka mutt and Hastāmalaka to Govardhana mutt, which is opposed to their respective traditions, to Citsukha's version and to the version of the principal Maṭhāmnāya-Setu, which is ascribed to Śaṅkara himself and which appears to be more reliable than the other Maṭhā.s. This setu also, given as one by Mr. Bodas, is found split up in five different parts, with variation in distribution and order of stanzas, which, however, substantially remain the same. This setu refers to Kāmākśī as the devatā of the Śṛṅgeri mutt, which like others is a Śāradā mutt and where Śaṅkara established Śāradā as the deity of the place. Kāmākśī was established at Kāñcī by Śaṅkara some time after the establishment of the Śṛṅgeri mutt. It, therefore, seems doubtful whether Śaṅkara wrote this setu as claimed in its colophon or it was done by some one else later. The reference therein by the author to himself in the first person and that too as the representative of Kali Age, on a par with Brahmā in Kṛta Age and so on,[30] adds to this doubt further. Mr. Bodas' inference, therefore, that these Maṭhāmnāyas and this setu seem to have been prepared at or after the time of Vidyāraṇya, who re-established the Śṛṅgeri mutt on a strong footing, seems to have considerable meaning. If, therefore, they do not refer to the establishment of a mutt at Kāñcī, it cannot be considered to be conclusive.

Suṣamā quotes from Pr.Ś.V. and Br.Ś.V. some Āmnāyas, called Maulāmnayas,[31] which, barring certain minor discrepancies in the former, testify to the establishment of a mutt at Kāñcī by Śaṅkara. Similarly, it quotes from these two works, stanzas in other connections[32] which also testify to the existence of a Śāradā mutt at Kāñcī. In addition to this, we have the explicit, statement of Mr. T.S.N. Śāstri that according to Citsukha, Śaṅkara established the fifth mutt at Kāñcī, where he himself stayed during the last days of his life.

Coming to the copper-plates, published by Mr. T. Gopinātha Rao, we find that out of the ten grants, Grant Nos.VI and VII are not useful for our purpose. They do not give us any useful information and hence can be left out of consideration altogether. The remaining eight grants are issued in favour of some persons, who, from the particulars given, can be very easily identified with the heads of some Śaṅkara mutt at Kāñcī. The different grantees of these grants are :

28. Read :

वाराणसीं योगिवरोऽधिगम्य भुजैरिव श्रीहरिरेष शिष्यैः ।
सहात्मने पञ्च मठानमीषां प्रकल्प्य तस्थौ कतिचिद्दिनानि ॥ - III : 23.

(1)	Grant No. I (1291 A.D.) :	Śaṅkarāya Yogi or Śaṅkara Yogi, residing at a mutt west of Hastiśailanatha.
(2)	Grant No.II & III (Saṁ. 1429 i.e. 1507 A.D.)	Mahādeva Sarasvati, disciple of Sadāśiva Sarasvati.
(3)	Grant No.IV (Śāli. Śaka 1444 i.e. 1522 A.D.)	Candra-cūda Sarasvati.
(4)	Grant No.V (Saka 1450 i.e. 1528 A.D.)	Sadāśiva Sarasvati, disciple of Candraśekhara Sarasvati.
(5)	Grant No.VIII (Śaka 1630 i.e. 1708 A.D.)	Loka Guru Śrimad Śaṅkarācārya Swamuluvasu.
(6)	Grant No.IX - Hijra Śaka 1088 i.e.1710 A.D.)	Swami Paramahaṁsa Parivrāja-kācārya of Śaradā mutt in Kāñchī, otherwise known as Satyavrata Kśetra.
(7)	Grant No.X (Śaka 1608 i.e. 1686 A.D.)	The donee is Mahadevendra Sarasvati, disciple of Candraśekharendra Sarasvati.

It is absolutely clear that all these eight grants refer to a Śaṅkarācārya Svāmi while at least three grants, namely I, IX, and X, very explicitly refer to a Śāradā Mutt at Kāñcī. Mr. K.S. Sunderamaiah has subjected these grants to a critical examination and tried to show that they are not genuine and prove nothing for the Kāñcī mutt. His treatment of the whole subject shows a highly prejudiced mind and that was also my personal impression about his attitude to the subject, during my contact with him at Kāladi. He seemed impervious to any argument

29. Read : आत्मना सह अमीषां शिष्याणां पञ्च मठान् प्रकल्प्य स्थितवान् ।
30. Read : कृते विश्वगुरुर्ब्रह्मा त्रेतायां ऋषिसत्तमः ।
द्वापरे व्यास एव स्यात्कलावत्र भवाम्यहम् ॥ मठाम्नायसेतु last stanza.
31. See commentary on G.R.M. - Stanza 19.
32. Read :
(i) निन्ये योगिसुरेश्वरोपचरितः श्रीकामकोट्याह्वये ।
श्रीमच्छङ्करदेशिकस्य जयति श्रीशारदाख्यो मठः ॥ प्रा.शं.वि. - सुषमा on G.R.M. - Stanza 32 - P. 33
(ii) अध्यास्त काञ्चिमभिमण्डितकामकोटिपीठी मठं निजमवाप्य स शारदाख्यम् ॥ Ibid.
(iii) अस्मिंस्तिष्ठन्ति ते पीठे कामकोटिसमाह्वये । Ibid. P. 35 पीठीयं कामकोटीति.... ॥ बृ.शं.वि.

against the theory he had evolved which he seemed bent upon proving at any cost and that same attitude he has betrayed in his booklet, "Śrī Śṛṅgeri Śāradā Mutt." He has tried to point out discrrepancies in (i) the names of the heads of the Kāñcī mutt, and (ii) the years of issue in terms of Śaka or Saṁvat reckoning, mentioned in the grants but none of these is so formidable as to discredit the grants altogether.

(i) While discussing Grant No.IV, he says that the grantee's name Candra-cūdendra Sarasvati does not tally with the name of that Āarrya, as given in G.R.M. Generally, he compares the names of Ācāryas in the grants with those in the list of Ācāryas, published by Mr. A.K. Śāstrigal. In this case, the name in the grant tallies with Mr. Śāstrigal's list and hence he resorts to the G.R.M. to point out the discrepancy. In the copy of G.R.M. in my possession, however, the name of the head is given as in the grant and not as stated by Mr. Sunderamaiah.

Similarly, while discussing Gr.V, he says that the grantee's name Sadāśiva Sarasvati, given therein does not tally with that in Mr. Śastrigal's list, which gives it as Sarvajña Sadāśiva Bodhendra Sarassvati. Ordinary commensense is sufficient to show that the former is only a short form of the latter, who can be identified from his guru's name, Candraśekhara Sarasvati, whose name, Mr. Sunderamaiah is forced to admit, tallies with the one in the G.R.M. This Guru is the same as the grantee of Gr.No.IV. There is not much distinction between Candracūda and Candraśekhara. The one is used for the other.

(ii) While computing time also, he shows a similar attitude. Particularly in the case of Grant Nos. II and III, he tries to show that the Śaka year 1429 does not tally with the name of the cyclic year, Śukla, mentioned therein. Śukla falls in Śaka 1432 i.e. 1510 A.D. Mahādeva Sarassvati, the grantee in the case, died in 1507 A.D. and thereafter, another āacrya held the seat. Thus, he wants to show that the time and the name of the ācārya do not agree. In this case, we find that but for Śukla, all the details will tally since Śaka 1429 - 1507 A.D. It is quite likely that this name is a mistake. This does not seem to be such a formidable discrepancy as to discredit the grant altogether.

While discussing Grants Nos. IV, V and VIII also, he has given different equivalents which, however, do not conflict with the periods of the grantees concerned but the attempt shows the prejudiced mind.

(iii) Mr. Sunderamiah's attitude is visible in a third place. Grant No.I refers in clear terms to a Śaṅkarācārya Svāmi at what can be definitely identified as Viṣṇu-Kāñcī. Mr. H. Kṛṣṇa Śāstri raised a doubt about the identity of this Svāmi or Śankarāya Yogi with the head of the mutt at Conjeevaram. Mr. Gopinātha Rao has answered

this criticism and cleared this doubt most effectively and convincingly. Mr. Sunderamiah still quotes Mr. Śāstri only and disposes of Mr. Rao's answer as "an overpitched observation." This is sufficient comment on Mr. Sunderamiah's method of treating the subject.

In addition to this Grant I, Grant IX also seems conclusive in its reference to daily offerings to God Candramauliśvara, feeding of brahmine and instruction in Advaita philosophy. This grant, moreover, distinctly refers to Svāmi Paramahaṁsa Parivrājakācārya of the Sarada mutt in Kāñcī. Mr. Sunderamiah's remarks, therefore, that the emperor's name is not mentioned and that the grant appears to be after all a general order & c., is absolutely worthless to disprove Kāñcī claim. Only blind prejudice will discredit such clear evidence and reject the rightful claim of the other side. The published grants form part of the group of 125 grants reported to be existing in 1817 A.D. and though, unfortunately enough, the remaining are reported lost today, there is no convincing reason put forward by Mr. Sunderamiah to prove that the present ones are not genuine. The reasons that he has shown have been proved to be filmsy and altogether unsatisfactory and, therefore, it is not possible to agree with his conclusion that "the grants now published in 1916 do not support the new claim of the Maṭha, which may be taken only as an honourable encroachment on the properties of the Śṛṅgeri mutt." On the contrary, they prove the existence of a Śaṅkara Śāradā Mutt at Kāñcī long before the Kumbakonam Mutt came into existence. The possession by this latter mutt, of all the 125 grants, including the published one, may only prove the theory of shifting of the Kāñcī mutt to that place due to unfavourable circumstances at Kāñcī on account of political changes and unrest.

The stock argument of Mr. Sunderamiah is that the grants do not refer to any mutt in Kāñcī and to the Indra-Sarasvati title. Enough has already been said about the first of these two factors. Regarding the second, it isnot clear, in what terms that reference is required by the learned pleader. Many of the grants do refer to the Sarasvati part of the title. The necessity, however, of the whole title being mentioned in such documents is not understood. Most obviously, the persons issuing or writing the grants, have used short forms only or made mere references to Śaṅkarācārya Svāmi, without mentioning their title at all. Has any rule been observed in the case of grants to the Śṛṅgeri mutt that the full titles of the grantees are invariably mentioned in all of them?

The copper-plates alone, then, independently of any other evidence, prove three things :-

(i) That a mutt of Śaṅkara did exist at Kāñcī.

(ii) The mutt must have existed from the 13th cent. A.D. and hence the Kāñcī-claim does not rest upon the Kumbakonam mutt being as ancient as the time of Śaṅkara.

(iii) The list of successors at the (Kāñcī) mutt also stands fairly well proved in respect of the respective time - periods of the different acāryas.

The line of successors at Kāñcī mutt is proved in part in another way also.

There is no doubt the first three persons viz., Śaṅkara, Sureśvara and Sarvajñātman, every succeeding being the disciple of every preceding. The next two in the line are Satyaboth and Jnāñottama. The latter of these two wrote a commentary called Candrikā on Sureśvara's Naiṣkarmyasiddhi. In the concluding two stanzas, he refers to both his Guru and his Paramaguru, i.e. to Satyabodha and Sarvajñātman.[33] This means that these five are connected together by Guru-disciple relation. The next two are Śuddhānanda and Ānandajñana alias Ānandagiri, the latter being the disciple of the former, a fact clearly indicated by the colophons to Ānandagiri's commentary on Śaṅkara's Sūtra-bhāṣya and his other works like the Gita Bhāṣya. There is of course no relation established between Jñānottama and Śuddhānanda. This, however, is sufficient to show that the line of successors at Kāñcī is not without any meaning altogether - perhaps it has a very sound basis.

One more detail regarding the Mahāvākya for this mutt. According to Kāñcī tradition, तत्सत् represents their Mahāvākya and in actual practice, the new occupant of the seat is initiated into all the four Mahāvākyas, which are represented by this small mantra. This practice, it is said, is due to the fact that Śaṅkara himself was the founder and first occupant of this Pītha and he himself was initiated into all the four Mahāvākyas by his Guru. This last fact is mentioned by as many as five biographers, viz., Cidvilāsa, Tiru.D., Mādhava, Sadānanda and Nīlakantha, the last three being adherents of the Śṛṅgeri mutt.[34] This practice continues even today, at the Kāñcī Pīṭha.

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33. Read :
पदशतकुमारिलगुर्वक्षपादकणभक्षः । यमनियमो जयति श्रीसत्यबोधाचार्यः ॥
वस्तुख्यातिविधातिधादितिमिरं नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धिस्कुरम् ।
व्याख्याचन्द्रिकया विधूय सुधियां सद्वृष्टिमुन्मीलयन् ॥
अन्तः सम्भृतशान्तिवेदनसुधाबोतः समुज्जृम्भते ।
सर्वज्ञाश्रमचन्द्रमास्त्रिजगती सर्वज्ञचूडामणिः ॥
Sureśvara also is touched thus :
नैष्कर्म्यसिद्ध्यभिधया सुधया सुधियां व्यधात् ।
योऽमृतत्वं नमामस्तं सुरेश्वरसुधानिधिम् ॥ Candrika - Introductory stanza).

The foregoing discussion is sufficient to show that even like the other four mutts, Śaṅkara must have established a fifth one at Kāñcī and perhaps himself became its first head. It is not necessary to consider the statement that this mutt was created as the controlling power over the other four. The present Svāmiji does not make that claim and we can leave this point out of consideration.

Regarding the order of the establishment of these mutts, it has been said already that Citsukha's statement in the matter seems to be the most natural and the mutts may have been established at Dvāraka, Badarikāśrama, Jagannatha Puri, Śṛṅgeri and Kāñcī, though the years of their establishment, as mentioned by Citsukha, may be a matter of dispute.

Regarding the first heads of these five mutts, there is no dispute regarding the Jyotir-mutt and Kāñcī mutt, where Toṭaka and Śaṅkara respectively occupied the seats. Regarding the other three mutts, except the version of Pr.Ś.V., the other Maṭhāmnāyas including the 'Setu also, agree in placing Pṛthvīdhara or Hastāmalaka at Śṛṅgerī, Padmapāda at Govardhana and Viśvarūpā at Dvārakā. There is, of course, some variation in these names because both Śṛṅgeri and Dvārakā claim Sureśvara as their first head. It has, however, been shown in the last chapter that Sureśvara could not have been placed at any one of these and that this confusion was due to the supposed identity of Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara which, however, has been disproved. The first head Brahmesvarupācārya at Dwārakā has been shown to have been the same as Viśvarūpa, brother of Maṇḍana according to Cit. Now, no one has placed Padmapāda at Śṛṅgeri and with Dvāraka's first head decided, Padmapāda's place at Govardhana and consequently Hastāmalaka's place at Śṛṅgerī are easily determined. The first name of Hastamalaka was Pṛthvīdhara.

One more point deserves to be noted. At the four of the main mutts, Dvārakā, Govardhana, Śṛṅgerī and Kāñcī, one linga called Candramauliśvara is worshipped daily by the reigning head. At the latter two mutts, one Ratnagarbha Ganeśacha is also worshipped every day. The copper-plates discussed in the preceding pages, refer to a Candra Lingam at Kāñcī. The question is : What is the origin of these two? Once more, Madhava group of biograhphers fails to enlighten us on the point. From among the rest, only Cidvilāsa, Br. Saras.

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34. Vide (i) शं.वि.वि. - IX : 18 to 20 (ii) शं.म्‍मु. - III : 2 (iii) सं. शं. जय - V : 102
(IV) शां.दि.सार - III : 75 (V) शं.भं.सौ. - II : 66.

35. Read : इत्युक्त्वा चन्द्रमौलीशं रत्नगं गणाधिपम् ।
शिवात्क्रमादिहायातं ददौ तस्मै स देशिकः ॥ शं.वि.वि. - IX : 53

36. Read : रत्नगर्भगणेशानं चन्द्रमौलीशलिङ्गकम् ।
गौविन्दपादः प्रददौ गौडपादस्य शासनात् ॥ वृ.शं.वि. Ch.XIII.

37. Vide III : 33 - Read :
श्रीचन्द्रमौलीश्वरलिङ्गमस्मै । सद्रत्नगर्भं गणनायकं च ।
स विश्वरूपाय सुसिद्धदत्वाम् । दत्त्वा न्यगादीच्चिरमर्चयति ॥

and G.V.K. refer to the same.

Cid. says that when Govindamuni initiated Śaṅkara into the four Mahāvākyas, he handed over to him the Candramauliśvara lingam and Ratnagarbha Ganesha, obtained from Lord Śiva in the line of Gurus.[35] This is a very natural story.

Br. Saras, says that Gaudapāda initiated Śaṅkara into Sannyāsa, at the request of Govindamuni, who at the instance of Gauḍdpāda, gave Śaṅkara Ratnagarbha Ganeśa and Candramaulīśvara.[36]

G.V.K. tells us that Śaṅkara banded over both these to Viśvarūpa for worship,[37] where by Viśvarūpa, the work evidently means Sureśvara. It has already been shown that Sureśvara belonged to Kāñcī, if he belonged to any mutt but certainly not to Śṛṅgerī. It is, however, not possible to say how the two lingams and Ganeśas are to be accounted for.

Br. Saras. has referred to as many as eleven lingas, given to Śaṅkara by Lord Śiva Himself. According to him, Śaṅkara distributed them as follows :-

(1)	चिदम्बर मुक्तिलिङ्ग	(2)	कामकोटिपीठ-योगलिङग	(3)	पुष्पगिरि-भोगलिङ्ग
(4)	जगन्नाथ-धर्मलिङ्ग	(5)	द्वारका - ज्ञानलिङ्ग	(6)	बदरी-तपोलिङ्ग[38]

At the beginning of Chapter V of his work, Vallī. refers to five Sphaṭika-liṅgas, brought by Śaṅkara. He does not mention their names but tells us later that he set up (1) मुक्तिलिङ्ग at Kedāra, (2) परलिङ्ग at Nīlakaṇṭhakṣetra, to which place he went from Dvāraka and (3) भोगलिङ्ग at Śṛṅgerī. Two lingas are left and so are two mutts - Govardlhana and Kāñcī and it may be inferred that according to Vallī, they were established at these two places. This will prove that according to Vallī. also, a follower of Śṛṅgeri mutt, Śaṅkara had established a mutt at Kāñcī, in addition to the four.

Śivarahasya, regarded as an ārṣa work, also refers to five lingas, as having been given to Śaṅkara by Lord Śiva.[39] It, however, does not give their distribution.

38. Read : (मुक्तिलिङ्गम्) चिदम्बरे सभायां तु स्थापितं शङ्कराज्ञया ॥
योगलिङ्गं कामकोटिपीठे तु स्थापितं पुरा ।
योगलिङ्गं पुष्पगिरौ धर्मसिद्धप्रदं वरम् ॥
जगन्नाथे स्थापितं च ज्ञानसिद्धिप्रदं वरम् ॥
स्थापितं द्वारकायां च कैलासादागतेषु च ॥
तपःसिद्धिप्रदं लिङ्गं स्थापितं बदरीवने ॥ & c.

39. Read ईश्वर to शं.-एतत्प्रतिगृहाण त्वं पञ्चलिङ्गं सुपूजय ॥.

40. Vide Markaṇḍeya Saṁhitā - Khaṇḍa 72, Parispanda 7, St. 7 to 11.

Mārkeṇḍeya Saṁhita also refers to five lingas brought by Śaṅkara from Kailāsa. It gives their distribution as follows :-

(1) चिदम्बर-शिवलिङ्ग (2) केदार-मुक्तिलिङ्ग (3) नीलकण्ठ-वरलिङ्ग

(4) काञ्ची-योगलिङ्ग (5) शृङ्गेरी-भोगलिङ्ग[40].

Br. Saras., Vallī. and Markaṇḍeya Saṁhitā are agreed that Yogalinga and Bhogalinga were placed at Kāñcī and Śṛṅgeri respectively. According to all these three, therefore, Śaṅkara must have established a mutt at Kāñcī. The Mark. Saṁ. also expressly refers to the establishment of such a mutt at two places.[41]

The claim of the Kāñcī mutt, as having been established by Śaṅkara himself, thus seems to rest on fairly strong grounds. The question can be finally decied if works like Br. S.V. of Citsukha, Pr. Ś.V. of Ânandagiri and Śaṅkarendra Vilāsa of Vākpatibhaṭṭa become available. Till such time, we have to rest content with the type of evidence adduced so far. It seems that all this Śaṅkarācārya-business is so old that the originals have safely been deposited into oblivion and the lack of historical sense on the part of our biographers has confounded the confusion. That is why, even though Śaṅkara did establish and himself occupy a mutt at Kāñcī, no trace of it, more reliable and conclusive than the one adduced here, is found today.

41. Vide Khaṇḍa 72 : Pari.7 : Stanza 6 and 72 : 8 :5.

Chapter - XII

THE FINAL PHASE AND THE END

We have practically come to the end of Śaṅkara's life. Only the last days remain to be described, with the one important event, viz., Sarvajñapīthārohaṇa, which was the crowning feature of all his achievements. Before coming to that incident proper, a few minor stories given by Br. Saras. need a passing notice.

According to Br. Saras, Śaṅkara established the Śṛṅgerī mutt at the instance of Lord. Śiva. He had come there along with Sarasvati, wife of Maṇḍana. When people heard of Śaṅkara's arrival, they came to see him and so came Vīrasena, the king of the place.[1] He told Śaṅkara that following King Sudhanvana's command, he had given up the Jain religion. Then, at the command of Śaṅkara, he built there, at the hands of eminent architects, a grand and an extensisve mutt for Śaṅkara to stay. He also established Śāradā and Vidyāyantra and in that Vidyāyantra, he established all the deities. Sureśvara was placed in charge of the mutt. Śaṅkara stayed at this place for some time and then started for Kāñcī, along with his disciples. At that time, Sureśvara requested permission to go with him by allowing him to place his own disciple Jñānānanda as the head of the mutt, to which Śaṅkara consented. Sureśvara then enjoined upon the King, Vīrasena to help Jñānānanda in his administration. Travelling by stages, Śaṅkara, with his disciples, reached Kāñcī where he worshipped Ekāmranātha, Kāmākṣi and Varadarāja.

At Kāñcī, some people came and told Śaṅkara that Kāmākṣi ate people at night. She lived in a hole (bilākaśa) in the earth and used to come out at night. Śaṅkara, therefore, slept outside the temple and protected himself by a Yantra. When she came, she was troubled by flames issuing from the Yantra and consequently went back. Śaṅkara followed her into the cave, placed one Śrīcakra at its entrance and thus controlled her.[2]

Some other day, we are told, the sage Durvāsas came to see Śaṅkara, who paid his respects to him. Durvāsas told him that he knew Śaṅkara to be an incarnation of Lord Śiva, born for establishing Advaita on earth.

Another day, we are told, King Rājasena of Kāñcī had come to see Śaṅkara, who told him that instead of the threefold division Śiva, Viṣṇu and Śakti, there should be only a twofold division, Śiva and Viṣṇu. He, therefore, asked Rajasena to rearrange the city as Śivakāncī and Viṣṇu-Kāñcī and build temples to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Kāmākśī, for the benefit of the people. The king did accordingly. He established a golden image of Kāmākṣi and in front of Her, established the famous Kāmakoṭi or Śrī Cakra and also built a big mutt for Śaṅkara's

1. Read : आधार्यागमनं शुश्रुवा जनैस्तद्देशनायकः ।
   वीरसेनः समायातः बहुभिः पण्डितोत्तमैः ॥.
2. Read : चकार स्तम्भनं देव्याः श्रीचक्रेण तु दृष्टधीः ॥.

residence. Śaṅkara then asked Sureśvara to teach him his commentary on the Vedānta-Sūtras.

Another story is told that at the same place, a dumb son of a brahmin came to Śaṅkara and expressed a desire to read his commentary on the Sūtras. Śaṅkara, thereupon, performed Pañcadaśi-Japa ten times and threw a leaf into the boy's mouth, with the result that he began to talk excellently. Śaṅkara then asked him to stand at a distance of 500 feet and to praise Parāmbikā and then approach him for Bhāṣya. The boy stood as instructed and for every step he took, he composed one stanza in praise of Parāmbikā. At the end of the last step, he came to Sankara, who taught him 'Bhāṣya. Thereafter, at the instance of the Goddss, he entered the fold and through Śaṅkara's grace, attained liberation.

Regarding these stories, the following points may be noted.

Story No.1

In the first place, the first head of Śṛṅgeri mutt was Hastāmalaka and not Sureśvara, the next person to occupy the seat, according to G.V.K.,[3] Mr. T.K. Balasubramania Aiyer[4] and Guruparampärā, published by Vāṇi Vilāsa Press, Śrīrangam,[5] the first two being staunch adherents of that mutt, was Bodhaghanāvārya or Nityabodhaghanācārya and not Jñānānanda.

Story No.2

According to Suṣamā, Br. Ś.V. also alludes to a similar story of Śaṅkara rendering some fierce Goddess mild. We are, however, not allowed to know the name of the Goddess or even the place with certainly, where the incident took place.

I was told a story by the present Kāñcī Svāmiji (Paramācārya) that the Goddess Akhilaṇḍeśvari at Jambukeśvaram (near Trichiropoly) was very fierce and used to burn everything before Her, even the archaka. At the instance of the people, therefore, Śaṅkara drew the Ugra kala out of Her by setting up an image of Ganeśa, Her favourite son in front of Her and by fixing two Tāṭaṅkas on Her two ears.[6]

It is difficult to express an opinion about the validity of the story but it is clear that Br. Saras.'s version is only a corrupt form of the above story.

Story No.3

This is a story in the manner of the Purāṇas and can be rejected forthwith.

Story No.4

This only represents the arrangement of the original city of the king of the place into two

3. Vide, IV : 5.
4. Vide - Greatness of Śṛṅgeri, p. 78.
5. Vide गुरुपरम्परास्तोत्र Stanza. st.13
6. This story is repeated in the Kāñcī mutt publication - श्रीशङ्करपीठतत्त्वदर्शनम् - pp.32 and 33.

cities, probably at the instance of Śaṅkara.

Story No. 5

This seems to be the story of the famous Mūka-Kavi, who is said to have become the 18th or the 20th head of the Kāñcī Pītha.

His 500 stanzas are well-known as Mūka-Pañcaśati. He is connected with Śaṅkara, by means of this story. Further comment is needless.

This brings us to the first main incident, viz., Śaṅkara's ascending the Sarvanña-pīṭha.

This event has been placed by all, except Cid., at the end of Śaṅkara's life, the last important act he did. Cid., however, places it immediately after King Rājasena, builds the Kāmākśī temple and the two cities Śiva Kāñcī and Viṣṇu Kāñcī. Vyā. puts it after the Hastāmalaka incident, which accroding to him, comes last in Śaṅkara's life. Śaṅkara is then taken from Śrī Vallī Agrahāra to Kāśmīra. According to Mād., Sadā. and Nīla. it took place after Śaṅkara's meeting with Gauḍḍpāda, on the banks of the Maṇikarṇikā river at Kāśī. G.V.K. says that Śaṅkara went to Kāśī from Jagannāthapurī. From Kāśī, Śaṅkara went to Kāśmīra for ascending the Pīṭha. According to G.V.K., however, incidents like erecting the Narayaṇāgāra at Badarivana, encounter with Bhairava, visit to Nepal, took place after this incident. According to all these writers except Cid., the pīṭha was in Kāśmīra while according to Govindanātha, Cid., Raja. D. and Br. Saras., it was at Kāñcī. This point will be discussed at the end of this topic.

Vyā., Govind., Mād., Sadā. and Nīla. tell us that Śaṅkara came to know that in Kāśmīra, there was a Sarvajñapīṭha, which had four doors, one for each direction. Excepting the southern door, the other three had been opened by Pandits from those particular directions, after establishing their Sarvajñatva. The southern door was still not opened by any person. G.V.K. says the same thing with the difference that Śaṅkara went to Kāśmīra first and there he came to know about the pīṭha. According to Cid., when Śaṅkara got built the two cities, Śiva Kāñcī and Viṣṇu Kāñcī and temple to Kāmākśī, a heavenly voice aked him to ascend that throne, which was at Kāñcī itself. Br. Saras. version is quite a novel one.

Some day during his stay at Kāñcī, Śaṅkara was visited by King Rājasena. At that time, Sureśvara asked him to prepare a pīṭha, called Sarvajña-pīṭha, made of gold and bedecked with precious stones and adorned with steps. On the first step, sixty-four artistic deities should be set up in the form of a biṁba. Then their Guru Bhagavān Śaṅkara would ascend it for none else was competent to do so.[7] The king prepared a 'pīṭha accordingly and Śaṅkara, after worshipping Ganeśa and other deities, made ready to ascent it.

According to the others, Śaṅkara, as a southerner, naturally desired to open the fourth door and ascend the throne. When, however, he approached the door, he was confronted by

a host of paṇḍits belonging to different schools of thought and they challenged his claim. He had to argue with them and answer their questions before they admitted that he was fit to open the door and ascend the throne. According to Vyā., Govinda, Rāja. D. and G.V.K., it was during this debate that Śaṅkara had to face Bhārati Vāṇi and perform the feat of entering the king's body for experiencing the science of erotics.[8] According to Cid., Śaṅkara had to enter into a slight discussion with a dualist only. The rest of it was smooth sailing. Br. Saras., as usual, has his unusual version, which runs thus :-

Before Śaṅkara actually made ready to ascend the throne, he invited all to a discussion. Some brahmins living on the banks of the Tāmra-parṇi river asked him regarding his theory of the identity of the individual and supreme souls. Śaṅkara answered and silenced them quickly. Then a young but a learned boy named Subuddhi came forth and argued with Śaṅkara for a long time, by resorting to the Science of Syllogisms. Śaṅkara, however, overcame him in the end.[9] He then ascended the throne and was worshipped by the king. Some time after the incident, sage Durvāsas came to Śaṅkara a second time and expressed satisfaction at his ascending the throne and asked him his commentary on the 'Sūtras and Durvāsas said he was very much pleased with it. It seems that Br. Saras. had a feeling that every incident in Śaṅkara's life had to be connected with something above normal.

From among the other biographers, Cid., Rāja. D. and G.V.K, tell us that after he had answered all the questioners, Śaṅkara straightway ascended the throne, without any further difficulty.

Vyā., Govinda., Nīla., Sadā. and Nīla., however, tell us that when after vanquishing the opponents, Śaṅkara was about to ascend the throne, he was checked by a heavenly voice which said to him that mere omniscience was not sufficient qualification for ascending the throne. Absolute purity was also required. He, therefore, should pause to consider whether, after enjoying all those ladies of the harem, he possessed the second qualification. Śaṅkara, however, immediately replied that the body he had been using all his life was spotlessly clean and whatever was done by resorting to another body did not taint him here.[10] This answer satisfied the heavenly voice and Śaṅkara ascended the throne. According to Cid., the heavenly voice not only did not raise any objection but declared, of its own accord, that Śaṅkara was fit for the throne.

It will be clear that Anant. and Vallī, have omitted this story. The versions of the others do not require much comment. The discussions given as between Śaṅkara and his questioners, appear to be almost puerila - so elementary are the questions put to Śaṅkara.

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7. Read : सर्वज्ञपीठमारोहेद्भगवान्नो गुरूतमः ।
   सर्वज्ञपीठमारोढुं नान्यः शक्तो जगत्तले ॥ बृ.शं.वि. - Ch. XXIII.
8. According to Rāja. D., though Śaṅkara argued with Bhāratī, the incident of entering the king's body did not take place at this stage.
9. Vide his बृ.शं.विजय - Ch. XXIV.

They only serve to show tht the writers had no reliable information on the subject and hence they have drawn upon their imagination. As a matter of fact, Śaṅkara had, by that time, floored so many opponents and consequently must have become so famous as a debator that hardly one or two would have dared to confront him in argument. The story of the young boy is, perhaps, true for according to Suṣamā, even Citsukha mentions him as from Brahmadeśa and his discussion with Śaṅkara for three days. This was a ttest of Sarvajñnatva and it has already been shown that as such, if any incident like parakāyāpraveśa took place in Śaṅkara's life, it must, in all probability, have taken place at this stage only. The Mādhavas, however, must have utilised the same to impugn Śaṅkara's character. The tradition of the story also must have become so firmly rooted that thte later biographers could not omit it. Hence, perhaps, they thought of the incident of the heavenly voice questioning Śaṅkara's purity and Śaṅkara giving an answer, which satisfies it. It now remains to settle where this incident took place - at Kāñcī or at Kāśmīra.

It has been said already that according to Govinda., Cid., Rāja. D., and Br. Saras. the 'piṭha was at Kāñcī only and not at Kāśmīra. There seems to be some doubt about Govinda., for after saying that Śaṅkara, having gone round the country, went to Kāñcī, he refers to Kāśmīradeśa as the ornament of the Bhārata-khaṇda. In the very next stanza, he refers to Goddess Kāmākśī and says that Śaṅkara went to the city to ascent the 'piṭha.[11] Goddess Kāmākśī is connected with Kāñcī only. In the last twelve stanzas, summarising Śaṅkara's life, he refers twice[12] to Śaṅkara ascending the pitha at Kāñcī, The greater probability, therefore, seems to be in favour of Kāñcī.

Suṣamā supplies us with better evidence.

(1) While discussing the question of Śaṅkara's passing away, Suṣamā quotes from Bṛ. Ś.V. of Citsukha[13] to the effect that Śaṅkara overcame the bodiless aerial Vāṇi and ascended the 'piṭha at Kāñcī, which means that according to Cit., the pīṭha was at Kāñcī only.

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10. Read : सर्वज्ञतैकैव भवेन्न हेतुः पीठाधिरोहे परिशुद्धता च ।
सा तेऽस्ति वा नेति विचार्यमेतत्तिष्ठ क्षणं त्वं कुरु साहसं मा ॥ सं.शं. जय - XVI : 84.
त्वं चाङ्गनाः समुपभुज्य कलारहस्यप्रावीण्यभाजनमभूर्यतिधर्मनिष्ठः ।
आरोढुमीदृशपदं कथमर्हता ते सर्वज्ञतेव विमलत्वमपीह हेतुः ॥
शङ्करः - नास्मिन् शरीरे कृतकिल्बिषोऽहं जन्मप्रभृत्यम्ब न सन्दिहेऽहम् ।
व्यधायि देहान्तरसंश्रयाद्यन्न तेन लिप्येत हि कर्मणाऽन्यत् ॥ Stanza - 1 Vyā - XII : 80 & 81; Mād. XVI : 85 & 86.

11. Read : सर्वज्ञः शिष्यसंयुक्तः शङ्करो देशिकेश्वरः ।
भूमिं प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य जवात्काञ्चीपुरं गतः ॥
जम्बूद्वीपस्य कुर्वाणो शोभां भारतखण्डके ।
शस्तं काश्मीरनाभानं देशं विद्योतयन्भृशम् ॥
कामाक्ष्या नाम वाग्देव्याः स्थानं तत्पुरमवाप्तवान् ।
सर्वज्ञपीठमारोढुमियेष यतिपुङ्गवः ॥ Ch. IX : 1 to 3;

(2) Suṣamā also quotes from Pr.Ś.V. of Ānandagiri[14] to the effect that after rendering the Ugra Goddess mild at Kāñcī and thereafter overcoming Sarasvati, Śaṅkara ascended the pīṭha there and then occupied the Kāma-koṭi-pīṭha. This shows that according to Ānandagiri also, the pīṭha was at Kāñcī in the time of Śaṅkara.

(3) Suṣamā further tells us[15] that Abhinava Śaṅkara the 38th head of Kāñcī pīṭha, had gone to Kāśmīra, then ruled by Jayāpīḍa and at that place, Śaṅkara, after defeating eight poets or Kavis, including Bhaṭṭodbhaṭṭa or Vākpatibhaṭṭa, ascended the Sarvajña-pīṭha there. Suṣamā quotes two stanzas from an untraced work called Sadguru-Santāna-parimala, to the same effect. Shri Kṛṣṇamācāri also gives a similar account in his 'History of classical Sanskrit Literature.[16] At the end, Suṣamā remarks that the authors of Vidyāśaṅkara Vijaya, Śri Śaṅkṣepa Śaṅkara Vijaya & c. have confused this story with the life of First Śaṅkara.[17]

Tradition unanimously connects Śaṅkara with Kāśmīra and also the Sarvajñapīṭha. So also, a great Śaṅkara mandir and Śāradāpīṭha are reported to be existing in Kāśmīra. It seems, the tradition cannot be impeached in respect of either of the facts. In this connection, however, it has been said in Chapter X that Śaṅkara must have visited Kāśmīra to see Maṇḍanamiśra. He also ascended the 'pīṭha at Kāñcī. Thus, both the traditions are borne out, though in a different way.

The way in which this topic has been handled by the biographers is a pointer in the same direction. Those who place the 'pīṭha at Kāśmīra, have to take Śaṅkara to that place from far-off places like Sri Vallī Agrahāra (Vyā.), Vārāṇasī (Mād., Sadā., G.V.K. and Nīla.). According to Vyā., Śaṅkara was on his way to Gokarṇa and he has actually been lifted to Kāśmīra. The preceding incidents also are different. According to Vyā., it was after the Hastāmalaka incident, according to G.V.K. after Śaṅkara's return to Kāśī from Jagannathapuri

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12. Read : स्नात्वा नम्य च रामनाथमथ तत्काञ्चांपुरं प्राप्तवान् ।
जित्वा तत्र सरस्वतीं भगवतीं सर्वज्ञपीठं मुदा ॥ आरुह्यऽथ.... ॥ Stanza 8.
श्रीकाञ्चीपुरमेत्य तत्र जितवान् वाणीं च सर्वज्ञताम् । Stanza - 9

13. Read : वाणीं विजित्य च वियद्विशदामदेहाम् । सर्वज्ञपीठमधिरुह्य च तत्र काञ्चयाम् ॥ On G.R.M. St. 33

14. Read : आधाय सौम्यवपुषं प्रकृतिं महोग्रामावाह्य विग्रहतनूमनुचक्रराजम् ।
आह्लाविते च विषये विबुधेषु चाप्तेष्वासादितेषु वशतां चरणौ वहत्सु ॥
इत्यारम्य सरस्वतीविजयाद्विषप चनपरं च विंशतिपथानन्तरं
सर्वज्ञपीठमधिरुह्य ततस्तदग्रे मिश्रान्विजय्य सहसोपनतान् प्रयागात् ।
अध्यास्त काञ्चिमभिमण्डितकामकोटिपीठो मठं निजमवाप्य स शारदाख्यम् ॥
इत्यादिना सर्गान्तं यावत् ॥ on G.R.M. 31

15. Vide Comm. on G.R.M. - stanza 64.

16. Vide, p. 323.

17. Read : इदमेवाधिकश्मीरमस्याऽखिलवित्पीठाधिरोहणमादिमाचार्याणामिति भ्रेमुः
विद्याशङ्करविजयसंक्षेपशङ्करविजयकारादय इति दिक् ॥ on G.R.M. - Stanza 64.

and according to the remaiing three, after Śaṅkara-Gauḍapāda - meeting. Now all these orders of the incidents are wrong. Lastly, after ascending the throne, Śaṅkara, according to Vyā., went to some rucira deśa. Mād., and Nīla. take him straight to Badarivana for his exit from the world. Sadā. and G.V.K. bring him back to Śṛṅgeri and while according to Sadā., Śaṅkara goes to Badarivana for the exit, according to G.V.K., Śaṅkara, thereafter, visits Kāñcī, Badarivana, Kāśī and Nepāla before he enters the cave of Dattātreya for good. It should be noted that G.V.K. does not even actually describe the Sarvajña-pīṭha-ārohaṇa by Śaṅkara.

As against this, those biographers, who locate the 'pīṭha and the incident at Kāñcī, tell us that prior to it, Śaṅkara was at Kāñcī itself. Kāñcī, in those days, must have been a seat of learning and the 'pīṭha is likely to have been there. Śaṅkara naturally felt like crowning his achievements by ascending the same. These biographers are not required to fly him to this place from long distances, take him baci to these places after the ascending was done and / or take him once more to Kailāsa or Badarivana for entering eternal bliss. The pro-Kāśmīra biographers seem to be altogether oblivious of the fact that in Śaṅkara's days - and in fact in their own days also - going over such long distances and so frequently was not at all an easy affair but they describe these journeys so glibly that Śaṅkara appears to have been using the most up-to-date means of transport like the aeroplane. From this point of view also, the account of the pro-Kāñcī biographers seem to be more natural. It, therefore, appears more correct to hold that the 'pīṭha which Śaṅkara ascended was at Kāñcī and not at Kāśmīra.

Before going over to Śaṅkara's passing away, it is necessary to discuss his visit to Nepāl, described by G.V.K. and one or two little stories, narrated by Br. Saras.

(1) According to G.V.K., from Kāśmīra, Śaṅkara went to Śṛṅgeri, along with Sarasvati. Then, he visited Kāñcī, Badarivana, Kāśī and once more Badarivana, to see the temple built to Lord Nārāyaṇa - all this being opposed to the accounts of all the other biographers. From Badarivana, Śaṅkara went to Nepāl with a view to seeing the Goddess Siddheśvari. When he went there, the Goddess took him on Her lap and talked with him in a very sweet manner - as sweet as nectar. The group of Siddhas about Her did not like this special favour shown to Śaṅkara and they began to throw stones at them. Śaṅkara stopped the throw by his own power. The writer tells us that such a picture was seen there in his own days. Then Śaṅkara requested the Goddess to give him some butter-milk and she created a regular river of it from Her thigh. The river, upto the time of the writer, was knwon as Takrāpagā.

This story is found in this work only. No other work gives it. Tradition otherwise, however, seems much firm on the point of Śaṅkara's visit to Nepāl. I have already referred[18] to the version of the Napālvaṁśā-vali in this respect.

The reference therein is quite clear. The son of the then reigning king was also named Śaṅkaradeva in memory of Śaṅkara's visit. Dr. Fleet also remarks that this

reference to Śaṅkara is beyond doubt as the name of Śaṅkara is beyond doubt as the name of Śaṅkara appears in the list for the first time.[19]

Regarding the time of the visit, the Vaṁśāvali says that Śaṅkara vsisited Nepāl in 488 - 487 B.C. i.e. about ten years before he passed away. The visit, therefore, must have taken place much earlier and not at the end of Śaṅkara's life, as described by G.V.K. According to Citsukha, Śaṅkara established the Dvārakā, Jyotir and Govardhana mutts in 490 B.C. 485 B.C. and 484 B.C. respectively. It can be inferred from this that Śaṅkara may have visited Nepāl after Dvārakā but before he went to Jyotir mutt i.e. long before he went to Śṛṅgeri and Kāñcī and not after all his life's job was over. Thus we can fix, at least the stage at which the visit may have taken place though the actual data thereof, as given by the Vaṁśāvali, may not be accepted.

(2) Br. Saras, tells us that after Śaṅkara ascended the 'pīṭha and the whole of the ceremony was over, the young boy Subuddhi surrendered to Śaṅkara and requested him for initiation into Sannyāsa. Then, at the instance of Śaṅkara, Sureśvara duly initiated him and taught him the 'Sūtrabhāṣya. He was named Sarvajñātman and made the head of Kāñcī-kamakoti pīṭha. Sureśvara was appointed his guardian during his minority and asked to stay at Kāñcī while Śaṅkara started on his Digvijaya-yātrā. Sureśvara placed Yogalinga at the mutt and remained as his guardian. Then, at Śaṅkara's instance, king Rājasena created a Śrīcakra and gave it to Sureśvara, who enjoined upon Sarvajñātman the worship of Tripurasundarī and the five deities. Then, Śaṅkara accompanied by King Sudhanvan and disciples like Padmapāda, is said to have started on his Triumphant Tour, which according to Br. Saras., commenced after Śaṅkara ascended the Sarvajñā-pīṭha.

Suṣamā quotes from Br.S.V. of Cit., to say that before he could ascend the 'pīṭha, Śaṅkara had to argue with a young boy, less than seven years of age, for three days. After, however, he overcame him and ascended the throne, he naturally thought that this boy was fit to succeed him as the head of the Kāñcī-pīṭha. He, therefore, initiated him into Sannyāsa, named him Sarvajñatman and made him the head of the Kāñcīpīṭha, as his immediate successor. He then told Sureśvara that he was not placing him at the head of any mutt but he should supervise the working of the various mutts and particularly of the Kāñcī mutt, durig the minority of Sarvajñātman. Perhaps, this instruction to Sureśvara to supervise was later interpreted to mean that the Kāñcī mutt was created as the controlling authority over the other four mutts. Beyond this appointment of Sarvajñātman to succeed Śaṅkara, there seems to be no truth in the story as narrated by Br. Saras. It has, therefore, to be rejected outright.

18. Vide Chapter V of this thesis.
19. Vide I.A. - Vol. XVI. p. 41.

Generally, the story of Śaṅkara's end is narrated after he ascends the 'pīṭha. However, there are some exceptions. Cid., places the incident of Śaṅkara ascending the 'pīṭha comparatively much earlier and makes Śaṅkara go to a number of places thereafter, argue with opponents and establish his mutts at different places. Even the Kāpālika incident is said to take place after Śaṅkara had ascended the pīṭha. Ultimately, he went to Badari-forest where he established a mutt and placed Toṭaka in charge of the same. The name of the king of that place is given as Ratnasinga. After this, Śaṅkara's old age[20] is referred to and his body is described as worn out by age[21] and then the story of his end is narrated. But for these references to his old age, tradition, written as well as oral, is absolutely unanimous on the point that Śaṅkara passed away in his 32nd or 33rd year. These refereces, again, appear in the context of a story which does not relate to him personally. The hot-water lake, as already described in Chapter VI, was created by Śaṅkara for his Guru Govindamuni and not for himself whereas here, the stanzas have been misapplied to Śaṅkara.

Anant, and Vallī. do not describe the incident of Sarvajña-pīṭha. Anant. tells us that Śaṅkara established mutts at Śṛṅgeri and Kāñcī, at which latter place, he also established Kāmākśi and Śrīcakra & c. Then, at the instance of his various disciples, he established worship of the five deities and then, after a discussion with his disciples regarding Advaita, he laid down his body at Kāñcī. Vallī., in the closing pages of his work, makes a repeated reference to Kāñcī only but does not actually describe Śaṅkara's passing away.

Vyā.'s work, as available in print, makes, if at all, a very very vague reference to his passing away but does not say where. Except for that reference, it does not at all refer to the passing away of Śaṅkara and that reference is very vague and doubtful. The five additional stanzas, however, given by the editor at the end of his introduction to Vyā.'s work, clearly refer to Śaṅkara laying down his body at Kāñcī.

Rāja. D. describes the incident of Sarvajña-pīṭha at Kāñcī and does not attribute to Śaṅkara any important act thereafter, upto the end of Chapter - VIII, excepting worshipping the Goddess on the bank of the Kaṁpā river.

G.V.K. describes Śaṅkara's end after his visit to Nepāl while Sadānanda makes him come back to Śṛṅgeri after ascending the pīṭha and then go to Badarivana, from which place he goes to Kailāsa.

According to Br. Saras., Śaṅkara's triumphant tour proper takes place after the incident of the Sarvajña-pīṭha and when the tour was over, he felt that his life's

20. Vide : Ś.V.V. - XXXI : 34.
21. Vide : Ś.V.V. - XXXI : 32.

mission was over and therefore, he should give up his body. He informed his disciples accordingly and they were all in grief to hear it. The approached him for his last advice, which he gave and then gave up his body, in his 33rd year, in the manner of a yogin.

Among the rest, there are generally two versions regarding the mode of Śaṅkara's passing away, the point of agreement between them being that the end came in the Himālayas.

Cid., and G.V.K. refer to Śaṅkara-Dattātreya meeting and yet their versions are some what different. According to Cid., God Dattātreya came to see Śaṅkara, who showed Him his Bhāṣyas & c. God Dattātreyas was pleased with them and then asked him to retire from his body. Śaṅkara did his bidding and both entered a cave and thence went to Kailāsa.

According to G.V.K., it was Śaṅkara who desired to see Lord Dattātreya and hence came to His hermitage. There, he gave up his staff (daṇḍa) and pot (Kamaṇḍalu) which were immediatelly transformed into a tree and a thīrtha respectively. Thereafter, Śaṅkara entered the cave of Dattātreya, where he stayed with the Lord for a long time, i.e. from which he never returned.

According to Mād., Sadā., and Nīla., when Śaṅkara returned to the Himālayas after ascending the pīṭha, the Gods appeared before him and said to him that since his mission was accomplished, he should return to his abode. Śaṅkara then acceded to their request and assuming his Divine form, with the third eye on his forehead, mounted his famous ox, and in the company of the Gods, went back to whence he came. According to Nīla., this happened at Kedāra Kśetra only.

Govindanātha gives a different version. He says that Śaṅkara, on coming to know that his end was near, visited Śrimūlasthāna &c. and finally returned to Vṛṣācala. There, he repaired to some portion of that hillock, along with his disciples and after singing a hymn to Lord Viṣṇu, attained Viṣṇu's Bliss.

From all these accounts, one question emerges viz., where did Śaṅkara actually lay down his body? Three places are mentioned by biographers, viz., Vṛṣācala, Kedāra and Kāñcī. The first is at Trichur, about 30 miles from Śaṅkara's birth-place and there a place is shown as the one where he passed away. This Vṛṣācala is a small hillock, where there is a big Śiva-temple. I have seen both but there is nothing to show that Śaṅkara passed away here. Only some place is mentioned. At Kedāra, some monument like a pillar is shown today, as having been erected in memory of Śaṅkara's passing away.[22]

The last place is Kāñcī. Śaṅkara is said to have laid down his body in front of Goddess Kāmākśī. In the same compound, there is a small temple, which contains a beautiful dark-black-stone image of Śaṅkara in a seated posture. This image differs from all others that I have seen at different places and also from the one represented in the current photograph of Śaṅkara, which is popular in society but which, according to Mr. B.R. Bodas, in a picture of Vidyātīrtha of Śṛṅgerī and not of Śaṅkara. This image is on a high pedestal, with six disciples carved beneath Śaṅkara's seat and the whole thing is claimed by the Kāñcī place to be a samadhi of Śaṅkara and is said to be as old as the Kāmākśī temple itself. The image looks quite old though it is not possible to ascertain its exact age.

All this raises a doubt as to the place of Śaṅkara's disappearance. It appears to me that Śaṅkara must have laid down his body at Kāñcī only and neither at Vṛṣācala nor at Kedāra in the Himālayas. My reasons for this view are as follows :

(1) Govindanatha's version is solitary and not supported by written or popular oral tradition. No other biographer records that Śaṅkara passed away at Trichur. In fact, no biographer, including Govindanātha, refers to his visit to Vṛṣācala at any other time. Govinda. was a Keralite and his work is also known as Keraliya Śaṅkara Vijaya and as such only, he brought Śaṅkara to Kerala for his final departure just as he was born in Kerala.

There is also an internal contradiction in Govinda.'s work. When describing Śaṅkara's birth, he says clearly that he was born out of a part of Lord Śaṅkara.[23] His parents had pracatised penance on Vṛṣācala, which is a Saiva shrine. At Kālaṭi, one Śiva-temple is still shown, where Śivaguru had the famous dream, which also relates to Lord Śiva only. Thus, even according to all, the antecedents of Śaṅkara were Śaiva. If this is so, it does not square well with Śaṅkara praising Viṣṇu and that too on Vṛṣācala, connected with Lord Śiva and then become one with Lord Viṣṇu's bliss. It will not be useful to say that Śaṅkara made no such distinction between Śiva and Viṣṇu for, we are not concerned with his pre-dilections but with how Govinda. viewed the matter and treated the subject in hand and from this point of view, there is a clear contradiction, which renders his version untenable.

(2) In the Himālaya version again, the contradiction between the two branches thereof is most patent. Even among the first three, who say that Śaṅkara was visited by Gods for taking him away, there is variation, for Mād. and Sadā. take him to Kailāsa, while Nīlakaṇṭha takes him as far as Kedāra Kśetra only. This can be explained to mean, as

22. It is said that Bihar Government is already thinking of erecting something like a permanent memorial of Śaṅkara at this place. I have not seen the place or the pillar.

was suggested by Śṛṅgeri Svāmiji, that the statement that Śaṅkara went to Kailāsa is only a poetical way of saying that he passed away and that happened at Kedāra. But what about Dattātreya version? Perhaps, that also can be explained in a similar manner.

It has been shown already that though Mādhava claims to summarise Pr.Ś.Jaya, he must have taken great liberties with the same and twisted the original at many places and that his work is of little value for historical purposes. Nīla. has followed him closely and Sadā. also has followed him to a great extent. On the contrary, it has also been shown that Anant., who also seems to have followed the same Pr.Ś.V, and is most faithful to the original, has stated that Śaṅkara left his body at Kāñcī, the Muktinagarī, and not in the Himalayas. It would, therefore, not be unreasonable to conclude that in this case also, Mādhava has made a departure from the original and Sadā. and Nīla. have followed suit. Their version, therefore, cannot be relied upon.

A very important circumstances is noticeable in connection with Mādhava's version. While commenting on XVI : 103 of Mādhava's work, dealing with s passing away at Kedāra, the commentator Acyutarāya, quotes the famous Chapter XVI from the 9th Aṁsa of Śivarahasya and ends that chapter with Stanza 46, saying that "(Śaṅkara) attained Siddhi at Kāñcī." He further adds his own remark that all this story should be seen in Br.Ś.V. of Ānandajñana alias Ānandagiri.[25] It is important to note that the commentator quotes from a work which gives Kāñcī as the place of Śaṅkara's passing away, while commenting on a stanza which refers to Kedāra or the Himālayas as such a place. The subsequent remark also shows clearly that Ānandagiri's work is different from Anant.'s work and that work also has given Kāñcī as the place where Śaṅkara passesd away. More about this version of Ānandagiri will be said presently. This reference is particularly important in that Mādhava's work is avowedly one in favour of the Śṛṅgeri mutt.

It has already been seen how the incidents in the life of Abhinava Śaṅkara have been confused with those of Śaṅkara. This is an additional instance of it. Suṣamā tells us that Abh. Śaṅkara, when his work was over, entered the ancient cave of Dattātreya and then quotes from Śaṅkarendravilāsa, dealing with the same topic.[26] The stanzas quoted tell us clearly that it was Abh. Śaṅkara who entered the cave of Dattātreya and disappeared. Suṣamā also quotes from another work Sadgurusantanaparimala to say that it was Abh. Śaṅkara who disappeared at Kailāsa.[27]

Sri Kṛṣṇamācāriar also, gives the same version of Abh. Śaṅkara disappearing in the

23. Vide his शं.चरितम् - II : 53 and III : 10 शङ्करांशेन जातस्य ॥.

24. Read : मिश्रान्स काञ्च्यामथ सिद्धिमाय ॥ Stanza : 46.

cave of Dattātreya.[28] Most evidently, this was tacked on to Śaṅkara, who was then said to have left his body at Kedāra. The statement, therefore, that Śaṅkara left his body at Kedāra in the Himālayas cannot be accepted.

By elimination, Kāñcī alone remains and its claim is proved by a number of authorities and arguments thus :

(1) Whil describing the incident of Śaṅkara's disappearance, Suṣamā quotes a stanza each from Bṛ.Ś.V. and Br.Ś.V., both of which say that Śaṅkara laid down his body at Kāñcī in front of the Goddess Kāmākśī.[29]

(2) Mr. T.S.N. Śāstri tells us that according to Citsukha also, Śaṅkara attained final beatitude at Kāñcī in the Kāmākśi temple. He has culled this statement of Citsukha from the Introductory chapter of his Bṛ.Ś.V. and it confirms the statement above, re; Citsukha's Bṛ.Ś.V.

(3) It has been said earlier in this chapter that Anant., who follows Pr.Ś.V. closely, describes very graphically and realistically Śaṅkara's passing away at Kāñcī in Kāmākśī's presence. Valli., who follows Anant. closely, does not expressly describe this last phase of Śaṅkara's life but the whole of his description towards the end of the sixth and the last chapters of his work, distinctly refers to Kāñcī only. As such, it will not be unreasonable to believe that he also connects the incident with Kāñcī and Kāmākśī. Thus, the two together bear out the stanza quoted by Suṣamā as from Pr.Ś.V.

(4) In addition to this, Suṣamā has quoted a number of other authorities as follows :

(i) Keraliya Ś.V. is said to contain certain stanzas which say that Śaṅkara placed Sarvajñamuni on the Śri Śāradā-pīṭha and asked Sureśvara to teach him 'Sūtrabhāṣya. Then, Śaṅkara gave up all desire in respect of the pīṭha and maṭha and laid down his body in the vicinity of Kāmākśī.[30]

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25. Read : एतत्कथाजालं बृहच्छङ्करविजये एव श्रीमदानन्दज्ञानाख्यानन्दगिरिविरचिते द्रष्टव्यमिति दिक् ॥ comm on सं.शं.जय XVI : 103.

26. Read :

अथ सदधिक चिद्विलास भिक्षोः व्यथय न वर्ष्म गुहां च मा स्म विक्षः ।
सहसहगमपेहि याधुदुह्याः सकलगुरुत्वमपोह वेदबाह्यान् ॥
अनुगिरमिति तां गिरं तदीयामधुरधिकर्णमनुप्लवा न यावत् ।
अचिररुगिव तावदक्षिताङं क्षितिगुरुरन्तरधत्त तत्संनीडम् ॥ comm on G.R.M. St.65

27.. Read :

अङ्गान्वङ्गान्कलिङगान्मगधमधुपुरीगौडसौराष्ट्रसिन्धून् ।
कश्मीरान्तान्विजित्य प्रथितजनपदान् रूढसर्वज्ञपीठः ॥
आ कैलासं यियासन्ननुपचरनिकरान् पश्यतः सम्प्रसार्य ।
प्राप्तोऽन्तर्धिं सदेहः शमयतु दुरितं शङ्करः सार्वभौमः ॥ Ibid

28. Vide his History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, p.323.

I have with me three copies of this work (Kera.Ś.V.) but none of them contains the stanzas quoted by Suṣamā. The one stanza, however, quoted by the same authority as from K.S.V. in connection with Śaṅkara's thread-ceremony, is found in the account of Śaṅkara's passing away and the concluding stanzas of the last chapter of that work are indeed a confusion of invocations to Śiva and Viṣṇu. In these circumstances, the stanzas quoted by Suṣamā seem to fit in better but why they are not found in any of the manuscripts with me is more than I can explain.

(ii) Vyā.'s Ś.V. is also said to contain five additional stanzas, out of which only one appears in the printed edition of the work and that too with important variations. The printed stanza is :

एवं निरुत्तरपदां स विधाय वेदो सर्वज्ञपीठमधिरुक्ष ननन्द सभ्यः ।
(Quoted in सुषमा on GRM - St. 33) वितो XII : 82

मात्रा गिरामपि तथा पुरुषेश्च सम्पैः संभाक्ति रुचिरदेशमयं जगाम ॥

The same stanza, quoted by Suṣamā runs as : (on G.R.M. St. 33)

एवं निरुत्तरपदां स विधाय देवीं सर्वज्ञपीठमधिरुह्य मठे स्वक्लप्ते ।
मात्रा गिरामपि तथोपरतैश्च मिश्रैः संभावितो कमपि कालमुवास काञ्चयाम् ॥

According to the printed edition, the 'pīṭha was ascended at Kāśmīra. The stanza quoted by Suṣamā seems to suggest that it was ascended at Kāñcī. Secondly the first would have it that Śaṅkara went to some other place, which,

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29. Read : सुषमा on G.R.M. St. 33

वार्णीं विजित्य च वियद्विशदामदेहां सर्वज्ञपीठमधिरुहा च तत्र काञ्च्याम् ।
विद्वद्वराचितपदे यतिसार्वभौमो देव्याः पुरः परतरे पुरुषे विलिल्ये ॥ वृ.शं. विजय of cit.
कल्यब्दैश्च शरेक्षणाध्वनयनैः (2625 - 477 B.C.) सत्कामकोटिष्मथे ।
पीठे न्यस्य सुरेश्वरं समवितुं सर्वज्ञसंज्ञं मुनिम् ॥
कामाक्ष्याः सविधे स जातु निविशन्नुन्मुक्त-पीठ-स्पृहः ।
देहं स्वं व्यपहाय देह्य सुगमं धाम प्रपेदे परम् ॥ प्राचीनशङ्करविजय

30. Read :

इति निश्चित्य मनसा श्रीमान् शङ्करदेशिकः ।
मठे श्रीशारदाभिख्ये सर्वज्ञं निदधन्मुनिम् ॥
सुरेश्वरं वृत्तिकृतमन्तिकस्य सदाऽऽदरात् ।
समं संस्थाप्य तस्मै स्वं वक्तुं भाष्यं समन्वशात् ॥
इत्याज्ञां सम्प्रदायास्मै त्यक्तपीठमठस्पृहः ।
कामाक्ष्या निकटे जातु संनिविश्य जगद्गुरुः ॥
देहिभिदुर्भजं भेजे देहं तत्रैव सन्त्यजन् । सुषमा on G.R.M. St. 33
अखण्डज्योतिरानन्दमक्षरं परमं पदम् ॥

however, is not mentioned by the author, while the second says that Śaṅkara stayed in Kāñcī for some time in his own mutt.

The very fact that this stanza is common to both, shows that the quotation by Suṣamā is not altogether without some possible base. It, however, also throws a doubt on the preceding story relating to the 'pīṭha. The reference to 'some favourite place' is very vague and seems to remain hanging. In the subsequent stanzas, Vyā. does not describe any place to which Śaṅkara went thereafter. In fact, the version of the printed edition is very unsatisfactory. The reference to Śaṅkara's end, if at all its exist, is very vague indeed. The third stanza, out of the five quoted by Suṣamā, seems to fill up this gap well. It clearly tells us that Śaṅkara laid down his body at Kāñcī.[31]

(iii) Another work referring to Śaṅkara passing away at Kāñcī and quoted by Suṣamā, is Jagadgurusantāna parimala.[32] The work is not available for inspection anywhere nor is it quoted or referred to anywhere else.

(iv) There is a fourth source, quoted by Suṣamā, but which is available independently of that also. It is the reference in Śivarahasya, to Śaṅkara, laying down his body at Kāñcī.[33] I have not taken this work necessarily as an old authority but just as an additional and independent piece of evidence, which the other side has tried to controvert. Their view is :

The stanza in question has been misquoted by making deliberate alterations. According to them, the correct version of the stanza is :

तथोगभोगवरमुक्तिसुमोक्षयोगलिङ्गार्चनाप्राप्तजयः स कामम् ।

तान्वै विजित्य तरसा क्षतशास्त्रजालैर्मिश्रांस्ततो नैजमवाप लोकम् ॥

According to Mr. K. Sunderamiah, "स कामम्" has been deliberately altered to "स्वकाश्रमे" & "ततो नैजमवाप लोकम्" to "सा काञ्चामथ सिद्धिमाप" "because the mutt wanted to create an impression in the popular mind that 'he' passed away at Kāñcī itself."[34] According to him, "नैजमवाप लोकम्" does not refer to Śaṅkara's passing away. He, however, says that "even adopting the reading as siddhi, scholars would not give that narrow meaning to that word.[35] He quotes the words of Bhaṭṭa Śrī Nārāyaṇa Śāstri, who says that the word 'Siddhi' does not refer to Mokśa, for want of authority but to accomplishment of desires only.[36]

It is difficult to agree with the pleader or the scholar. Both of them are avowed adherents of the Śṛṅgeri mutt and have given prejudiced interpretation of the

31. Read :

इत्थं स शङ्करगुरुः कृतकृत्यभावात् भावान् प्रकाश्य निगमान्तगिरां निगूढाम् ।

काञ्च्यां विमुच्य वपुराहतमिच्छयैव स्वस्यैव धाम्नि परमे स्वत एव लिल्ये ॥

word 'Siddhi'. What desires did Śaṅkara have that he should expect their attainment like an ordinary person? It is, therefore, left to scholars to decide which of the two interpretations is sarrow.

An argument was put up by H.H. Sri Śṛṅgeri Svāmiji against this that Śaṅkara's being an incarnation of Śiva was a product of later times and in his own time, he must have been looked upon as an ordinary individual only. Quite true, but we are not concerned with that. We are concerned with how the work, which used this word in relation to him, looked upon and treated the figure of Śaṅkara and there we find that Śivarahasya already regarded Śaṅkara as an incarnation of Śiva. The same Svāmiji said that in the case of such figures, their end is described, not in the ordinary manner, but in some poetic language such as "He became Brahman", "He went to Kailāsa" &c. Applying the same principle, the most natural meaning that can be given to 'attained Siddhi' is that he laid down his body. In fact, even the alternative reading ''नैजमवाप लोकम्'' given as the original and the correct one, has to be interpreted so as to yield the same meaning. The ultimate meaning is, therefore, the same.

Mr. Sundaramiah has another argument to make. According to him, Chapter XVI of the 9th Aṁsa of Śivarahasya does not end with stanza 46, as maintained by the Kāñcī version. There are as many as thirteen stanzas thereafter. These stanzas commence with : काञ्च्यां तपःसिद्धिमवाप्त दण्डी & c. stanza 47 and end with महेश्वरम् .... stanza[59]. These thirteen stanzas contain the main incidents of Śaṅkara's life, viz., writing of commentaries, meeting with Vyāsa, Śaṅkara-Maṇḍana meeting &c. The contention of the pleader is that without a mention of these incidents, no account of Śaṅkara's life would be complete and hence this version is the correct one. If so, stanza 46 cannot be taken to refer to Śaṅkara's final departure, which stanza[37] says took place at Kailāsa.

It may be admitted that an account of Śaṅkara's life would not be complete without a

32. Read :
सर्वज्ञैकसमध्यास्ये कामकोटीति संज्ञिते । पीठे स्थितः कतिपयानब्दान् शिष्यानपालयत् ।
सुरेश्वरपरित्रातं बालं विद्धनमासने । निवेश्य प्राविशद्धाम परमं स्वं जगद्गुरुः ॥

33. Read :
तथोगभोगवरमुक्तिसुमोक्षयोगलिंगार्चनाप्राप्तजयः स्वकाश्रमे ।
तान्वै विजित्य तरसा क्षतशास्त्रजालैर्मिश्रांस्स काञ्च्यामथ सिद्धिमाप । शिवरहस्य - 9 : XVI : 45 or 46.

34. Vide his booklet Śrī Śṛṅgeri Śāradā Mutt, p.30.

35. Ibid., p.30.

36. Read :
सिद्धिशब्दो न मोक्षवाचकः ॥ कुतः । शक्तेर्मानाऽभावात् । न लक्षणया, मुख्यार्थ बाधामावात् । न व्यञ्जना मूलाऽभावात् । अतः साधनार्थः - मनोरथानां सिद्धिमवाप इत्यर्थः ॥ - भट्टश्रीनारायणशास्त्री । विमर्श p.25.

mention of these main incidents and that the gap is filled up by these thirteen stanzas. There are, however, four objections to their acceptance and they are :

(i) The very first of these thirteen stanzas refers to Śaṅkara attaining tapassiddhi at Kāñcī, which is opposed to the interpretation "attainment of desires", cited by the learned pleader. The beginning, "काञ्च्यां तपःसिद्धिमवाप्य दण्डी", moreover, shows clearly how the preceding stanza must have ended and that does not support the variant reading proposed by the learned pleader.

(ii) The expression नैजमवाप लोकम्, which, according to Mr. Sunderamiah is the correct one, has not been explained by him anywhere and I have shown what it must mean. If that is so, the subsequent portion ill fits into the context.

(iii) The references to Bhāskara, Nīlakanṭha &c. are anacaronistic and do not appear consistent in an old work like Śivarahasya.

(iv) The source of these thirteen stanzas has not been mentioned anywhere. They seem to hang loosely in the air. The Vijñāpanā throws no light on this point inspite of the fact that it refers to these stanzas as 'Auttara Pāṭha' or the 'northern version.' Mr. Sunderamiah also, with his most critical and sensitive historical spirit, gives us no clue to it, for purposes of verification.

On the contrary, I have so far seen eight copies of this same chapter from Śivarahasya, supplied by different libraries in India.[38] All these copies are in the possession of Sri Mahādeva Śāstrin, Kumbakonam, who has procured them from these libraries and who was good enough to allow me to inspect them all in the original. Prof. B. Upādhyāya also has quoted this chapter in full,[39] though he has not mentioned its source. Acyutarāya Modak also, the commentator of Madhava's S.Ś.Jaya, has quoted the full chapter in connection with Sankara's end. All these ten verions end with stanza 46, with the last words "मिश्रान्स काञ्च्यामथ सिद्धिमाप" and not as given by Mr. Sunderamiah. In these circumstances, it is not possible to accept Mr. Sunderamiah's contention regarding the version of the Śivarahasya chapter in question.

An argument against works like Śivarahasya in general was made that no reliance could be placed upon such Purānic accounts. If this is admitted, almost all the Śaṅkara-Vijayas will have to be dismissed in like manner for

they are no better than that, Mādhava's work being the worst of them all. I have not discussed this point at such length because I attach such supreme or conclusive importance to Śivarahasya but firstly because it has been so seriously questioned and secondly with the only idea that it is just one more statement pointing in a particular direction. I have never considered that most of the Śaṅkara-Vijayas also are entitled to much better respect than this.

(5) A very interesting place of evidence is supplied by the Guruparamparā stotra of Kūḍlī Śṛṅgeri mutt. It says that Śaṅkara established mutts in the four directions and stayed in Ṛṣyaśṛinga-āśrama on the bank of the Tungabhadrā river for twelve years. Then he placed Pṛthivdhara Yati at the head of the mutt and wandering about at will, went to Kāñcī, where he established Kāmākśī and attained the highest place.[40] This clearly means that according to Kūḍlī paramparā, Śaṅkara laid down his body at Kāñcī.

If, therefore, the evidence of the written word has any value, Kāñcī has good reason to claim the honour of having Ādi Śaṅkara at their place when he passed away. This view is eminently borne out by the sculptural evidence than can be seen in and about Kāñcī even today.

(i) Reference has already been made to Śri Śaṅkara's seated statue inside the premises of the Kāmākśī temple. Besides this, the following figures were observed by me in the same premises.

(ii) Image of stone, of a Sannyāsin, standing, just inside the main entrance to the temple. The image is to the left.

(iii) A Sannyāsin's image in the wall, in a sitting posture, where the Golden image of Kāmākśī was formerly kept.

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37. I may even state that I got one Śāstrin at Kālaṭi to agree with me on this point. I explained to him the whole position and he also admitted unreservedly the force of my arguments in the very presence of Mr. Sunderamiah, who failed to controvert my view.

38. The Libraries are :
(1) Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library.
(2) Adyar Mss. Library, Madras.
(3) Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.
(4) Trivandrum Mss. Library.
(5) Mysore Oriental Library.
(6) Narulu Svāmiji's Library.
(7) Kashi Mahāraja's Library, Benares.
(8) Sarasvati Bhavan's Library, Benaras - ms. of Śivarahasya Chapter obtained by this library from Gwalior.

39. Vide his 'Śri Śaṅkaracarya' - pp. 16 to 19.

(iv) A Sannyāsin's seated image, just where the Utsava-murti of Kāmākśī has been installed.

(v) In front of the Goddess Annapūrṇā, there are three images of Subramania, Vyāsa and a Sannyāsin in a standing position.

(vi) A Sannyāsin's standing image, near nd Annapūrṇā-maṇṭapa, at the bottom of the pillar.

Besides these, the following images are found in the two cities of Kāñcī.

(vii) A Sannyāsin, standing with daṇḍa, in hand, before the seated image of Vyāsa, on one of the pillars in the Varadarāja temple in Viṣṇu Kāñcī.

(viii) The figure of a Sannyāsin, standing with daṇḍa, kamaṇḍalu, dīpa, Candramauli, Bhāṣya-book & c. in a pose of penance, on each of the two pillars at the entrance of Vaikuṇṭha Perumala Temple in Śiva Kāñcī.

(ix) A Sannyāsin's figure with daṇḍa and daṇḍa-satra in Śīrṣāsana posture - Ekāmreśvara temple in Śiva Kāñcī.

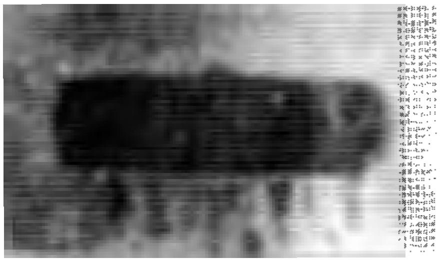
(x) About a mile from Viṣṇu Kāñcī is situated a temple called Śivasthānam. On the inner wall of the Garbhagṛha, we find the figure of a Sannyāsin.

Except this last one and No.(vii) above, I have personally seen all. I have attached photographs of some of these for inspection. Throughout my travel in India, covering most of the important Śaṅkara-centres, I have not seen sculpture in such abundance anywhere, sculpture showing images of Sannyāsins, all of whom, referred to above, have been identified as Śri Śaṅkara of Kālaṭī.

I, therefore, feel that in all probability, Kāñcī is correct in claiming their city as the place where Śaṅkara "shuffled of his mortal coil" and became one with the Immortal Spirit.

It is the inexorable rule of nature that what is created must perish, what appears must disappear, what has begun must end, one day or the other. At this rate, all great persons have come and gone. Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, one of the figurres that have adorned the pages of human history, was no exception to the rule. Thousands must have bemoaned his loss with a weeping heart then and we feel uneasy over the idea of his disappearance even at this distance of time. And yet, the satisfaction for us all lies only in agreeing with the philosopher who says : "Time spins fast, life fleets and all is change. Everything flows and nothing is."

40. Read : स्वेच्छया पर्यटन् भूमौ ययौ काञ्चीपुरीं गुरुः ।
तत्र संस्थाप्य कामाक्षीं देवीं पदमगात्परम् ॥



Sculpture on the stone wall of the Pooja Gruha (पूजागृहम्) of the Kamakoti Sankaracharya Mutt at Kanchi



Rajaswami Temple Mother's Sannidhi



Vaikunta Perumal Temple

Sri Dakshinamurthy - Sri Shivasthanam



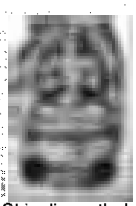
The image of Sri Adi Sankara on the wall in the Garbagraha



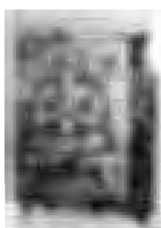
Ekambareshwar Mandir



Varadaraja Perumal Mandir



Shivalingasthal Kanchipuram



Kanchapeshwar Mandir



Kumarakotan



Shivalingastal

Chapter - XIII

IN RETROSPECT

The discussion in the foregoing chapters is sufficient to show that even though we have about sixteen biographies of Śaṅkara, no single work can be relied upon as an independent authority for purposes of history. They have to be put together and made mutually corroborative and even then we have to do a lot of skimming and sifting before we can arrive at something like a conclusion. After everything is done, we do not get more than a skeleton picture of Śaṅkara's life. The broad outline of it can be represented as follows :

Vidyadhiraja, Śaṅkara's grandfather, was a great scholarly brahmin, living at Kālaṭi in Kerala Pradeśa. He was a worshipper of Lord Śiva and the Kālaṭi-agrahāram was given to him. He had a son named Śivaguru, also a great scholar. Both the father and the son were followers of the Vedic religion of Karmas. Śivaguru was married to Āryambā. Śaṅkara was born to them at an advanced age, perhaps in answer to some penance they practised for the purpose. This new child proved a prodigy and mastered the various lores with a swiftness that surprised his teachers as well as his parents. Śivaguru performed his thread-ceremony in his fifth year but himself passed away before Śaṅkara had finished his Vedic studies. After Śaṅkara returned from the Gurukula, possibly the quesion of his marriage began to be discussed but he himself had no inclination towards a householder's life. Somehow, therefore, he managed to get his mother's permission to renounce the worldly life and become a Sannyāsin. He then left his home in search of a Guru and found one in Govindamuni on the banks of the Narmadā. Govindamuni taught him what he himself knew and initiated him into Sannyāsa. It seems possible that Śaṅkara got the benefit of training under Gauḍapāda. By the time Śaṅkara had finished initiation and training in Advaita philosophy, he had also completed his commentaries and also some minor works. Thereafter, he obtained his Guru's mandate to propagate his Advaita Philosophy by undertaking a tour throughout India. Before that, however, he was required to go to Kālaṭi to attend to his dying mother. After he had finished her obsequies, he had perhaps to attend to his dying Guru, Govindamuni, who breathed his last on the banks of the Narmadā. During this period, he had acquired two of his principal disciples in Viṣṇuśarman alias Citsukha and Sanandana alias Padmapāda, both of whom he initiated into Sannyāsa. At the death of Govindamuni, his disciples also joined Śaṅkara, who now came to Prayāga, where he began to teach his own commentaries and expound the

Advaita philosophy. It was, perhaps, during this stay that he got three more disciples, Viz., Uttaṅka or Udaṅka, Prabhākar Mīmāṁsaka and Hastāmalaka. It was here that he heard of Kumārila who was immolating himself in a chaff-fire. He, therefore, went to see him but as he was already in firm, he could not enter into any discussion with him. Kumārila, however, directed Śaṅkara to Maṇḍanamiśra, another great Mīmāṁsaka and himself passed away. Śaṅkara, accordingly went to Maṇḍana's place, engaged him in a discussion and ultimatelly converted him to his own view. Maṇḍana then became an ascetic at the hands of Śaṅkara. With the main stalwarts in his bag, Śaṅkara toured the whole country, defeating various argumentators, propagating his philosophy of Advaita, establishing mutts at the four corners of India and ultimately came and settled down in the South. During this tour, perhaps, he got his last main disciple, viz., Toṭaka. He crowned his life's achievements by ascending the Sarvajña-pīṭha, famous in his days and having thus finished his life's job, gave up his body at the very early age of 32 years.

These are the facts of Śaṅkara's life about which there is likely to be no disagreement. It seems that in addition to these, Śaṅkara must have been a great yogin indeed and it is not improbable that he was responsible for some supernatural acts like curing a lepor, reviving a dead boy, and entering the body of another. His visits to Nepāl and Kāśmīra during his tour seem to be provable facats rather than mere legendary traditions.

It seems there is considerable truth in the view that the figures of Śaṅkara and Abhinava Śaṅkara were confused together by the later biographers who consequently confused their life-stories also. That is how we get different opinions among biographers themselves, regarding certain incidents in Śaṅkara's life, viz., his birth, his visit to Kāśmīra and ascending the 'pīṭha and his passing away.

It is indeed difficult to decide between the different dates proposed for Śaṅkara. The biographers do not give us any reliably definite clue to the same. Some of them mention the names of some contemporary kings, such as Rajaśekhara, Sudhanvan (Madhava), Kulaśekhara, (Bāla Gopāla) Rājasena, Virasena, Bhadrasena, Ratnasinga, Bhojasinga (CIdvilāsa and Br. Saras.) but it has not been possible so far to identify any of these or to fix their period in history and therefore, they do not help us to settle the date of Śaṅkara. Till such time, therefore, as some conclusive evidence to the contrary is brought forward, he will generally be regarded as belonging to some period between the 7th and the 9th century A.D.

It is to be regretted that the enthusiasm of the later biographers to raise Śaṅkara to absolute divinity has defeated its real purpose and rendered his character as also his life-story legandary. It is possible to suggest that they had a reason for such an exaggerated representation of Śaṅkara and that was to counteract the attacks of the Mādhvas. If the biographers illustrate Lord Morley's statement as to how fanatical enthusiasm serves only to spou the picture or the creed which it tries to exalt,[1] the followers of the Mādhva school are an instance of how low sectarian hatred stoops, in trying to discredit its opponents in the field

and thereby to forge ahead its own theories and practices. Thus, Narāyāṇa-pandita, the biographer of Sri Madhvācārya, describes Śaṅkara as an incarnation of the demon Maṇimān, born of a brahmin woman from a paramour i.e. in an illegitimate way. He gives his name as Saṅkara[2] (संकर) which, the commentator Viśvapati-tīrth explains as being due to Śaṅkara doing away with all distinction and maintaining confusion of all things.[3] It is to be noted that in this case, the name becomes predicative and is easily seen to be a product of sectarian hatred. This is not all. While describing the encounter between Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana, the same author says that Śaṅkara stayed at Maṇḍana's place as long as the discussion was going on but after Maṇḍana went to bed at night, Śaṅkara made a sign to his wife. The wife understood the sign and came outside into the court-yard and the two slept in the same bed and enjoyed each other during the night. This is nothing short of blasphemy. In the case of the birth, it seems that the circumstance that Abhinava Śaṅkara was born to his mother after 13 months' conception and after his father's death was utilised by the Mādhva pundit to represent Śaṅkara as the son of an unchaste brahmin woman, while in the second case, the story of para-kāyā-praveśa was used to represent Śaṅkara as a debauchee. To counteract this picture, the later biographers represented Śaṅkara in terms of Divinity and so also the other main characters like Kumārila, Maṇḍana, Bhāratī, Padmapāda and others and narrated the incidents in Śaṅkara's life with all the addition of the supernatural they could command.

This exaggeration, though explicable on this basis, has no doubt rendered the figures in the story mythical and hence rather unreal. This effect is most pronounced on the wellknown scholar, the late Mr. V.K. Rājavāde, who gives expression to his views on the subject in his book Ṣaḍ-darśana-samanvaya. His thesis may be summarised thus :

During the period of the Buddhists, i.e. sometime in the first millenium after Christ, there arose a band of Sannyāsins to fight the Buddhists on the philosophical level, which was the main stand of the latter. It was necessary to evolve a parallel system of philosophy - both theory and practice - parallel to that of the Buddhists. This they did by creating the Prasthāna-trayī. With the help of the already existing doctrines of Bhakti and Yoga systems, they established Advaita philosophy and the doctrine of Māyā and to prove that these two had an origin in the Vedas, started writing works. The works were the commentaries on the Prasthāna-traya. Linguistically examined, they do not appear to be the production of a single

1. Vide Lord Morley's 'On Compromise' - p. 4.
2. Read :
तमेव समयं दैत्यो मणिमानप्यजायत ।
मनोरथेन महता ब्राह्मण्यां जारतः खलात् ॥
उत्पन्नः संकरात्माऽयं सर्वकर्मवहिष्कृतः ।
इत्युक्तः स्वजनैर्माता संकरेत्याजुहाव तम् ॥ मणिमंजरी - VI : 6, 7
यो मूरिवैरो मणिमान् मृतः प्राग्वामी बभुवुः परितोषितेशः ।
स सङ्कराख्योऽङघ्रितलेषु जज्ञे स्पृधापरेऽप्यासुरिहासुरेन्द्रः ॥ सुमय विजय - I : 47
3. Read : सर्वभेदनिराकरणात्सर्वसाङ्कर्यप्रतिपादनेन संकर इत्याख्या । - Comm. on I : 47 above).

individual but rather the collective thought of a group. Perhaps, Gauḍapāda was the originator of the band or the group and hence is called the Guru or Parama Guru of Śaṅkara. This band succeeded in opposing the Buddhists. All these things were beyond the capacity of a single individual. They required combined strength but the originators also required a central point which they created in the imaginary figure of Śaṅkara. Perhaps, Śaṅkara was some ordinary person in the group or was purely an imaginary figure. No reliable account of his life is available and whatever is available in the form of Vidyāraṇya's Śaṅkara Digvijaya is historically untenable. Moreover, it is not an account of the life of an individual but of the movement of a band of sannyasins, with an imaginary central figure of Śaṅkara, who is no real human person.[4]

The theory is characteristic of the learned scholar who has propounded it but it has been quoted only to show the harm done to the cause of history by the overenthusiasm of Śaṅkara's biographers. It does not seem necessary to meet the challenge. More than 15 to 20 works bear out the historicity of Śaṅkara's character. At least fifteen biographies testify to it, though in varying tones. Tradition, over a period of 1200 years and more is unanimous on the point and linguistically also, the commentaries on the Prasthana-traya seem to bear unmistakably the impress of a single authorship. To say that so much work is beyond the capacity of a single individual is to measure all the persons sby one's own standard and to deny the infinite possibilities of God's creation.[5] We only give it the consideration it deserves. We, however, cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the biographers' enthusiasm has led to excessively exaggerated accounts of Śaṅkara's life and until we are able to get some more authoritative biography, we have to rest content with the tentative outline of his life as given at the beginning of this resumé.

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4. The conclusion of his thesis is better given in his own words : "या प्रकारें शाङ्करदिग्विजय हा कोणा एका विशेष व्यक्तीचा दिग्विजय नाहीं, तर एका संयासी संघाच्या चळचळोचा दिग्विजय आहे व त्यांत शंकराचार्य नामक एक निमित्तमात्र मूर्ति कल्पनेनें निर्माण केली आहे. (P.२९०).... सारांश, शंकराचार्य ही कोणी एकादी वास्तविक शरीरधारी मानव व्यक्ति नाहीं तर एका विशिष्ट संन्यासी संघाच्या चळचळीला केन्द्रीभूत होणारी मनोमय काल्पनिक मूर्ति आहे आणि म्हणून.... त्या संयासी संघानें आपल्या चळचळीला साजेशी अशा गुणगणानें मण्डित केलो आहे व अद्भुत चमत्कारांनीं सजविली आहे. हे चमत्कार विद्यारण्यांच्या शाङ्करदिग्विजय-नामक ग्रन्थांत विस्तारानें वर्णिले गेलें आहेत आणि हा विद्यारण्यांचा ग्रन्थ म्हणजे एक कादम्बरीवजा पौराणिक आख्यान आहे. साक्षात् घडलेलें ऐतिहासिक जीवनवृत्त नाहीं. यापेक्षां त्वाला वाङ्मयक्षेत्रातं अधिक महत्व नाहीं. - (p.291).

5. In this connection, it is interesting to read Śaṅkara's remark in a similar context. He says : यस्तु ब्रूयादिदानींतनानामिव पूर्वेषामपि नास्ति देवादिभिर्व्यवहर्तुं सामर्थ्यं स जगद्वैचित्र्यं प्रतिषेधेत ॥ ब्र.सू.भाष्य - I :3:33.

Chapter - XIV

ŚAṅKARA'S WORKS

It has to be stated at the outset tht it is not within the scope of the present thesis to discuss in details the pros and cons in respect of every work ascribed to Śaṅkara by tradition or otherwise. The main point regarding them is to say what thte biographers have to say in the matter. A few comments are then added to their statements.

There seems to be a general consensus of opinion among biographers that Śaṅkara wrote commentaries on the prasthāna-traya, comprising the Bhg., ten principal upaniṣads[1] and the Br. Sūtras. Though all biographers do not mention by name all the commentaries on the prasthān traya, they seem to be agreed on that point generally. In addition to these, Śaṅkara is credited with a number of minor works like Śataśloki, Viveka-cūḍāmaṇi, Upadeśasāhasrī, commentaries on Viśṇusahasranāma, Sanatsujāta, Śvetāśvatara and Nṛsiṁha-Pūrva-tapinī Upaniṣads, a tantric work called Prapancasāra and numberless hymns to various deities. These also are the minor works generally mentioned by the biographers. A small chart given below represents how the various biographers have dealt with this subject.

(1) **Citsukha :-** 16 Bhāṣyas on 10 Upaniṣads, Nṛsimha-pūrvatāpinī and Śvestāśvatara Upaniṣads, Sahasranāma, Bhg., Sanat-sujāts and the Brahma-Sūtras.

Regarding the minor works, I have collected from Mr. Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī's Age of Śaṅkara, 41 such works, upto the conversion of Prabhākara Mīmāṁsaka by Śaṅkara, with the periods and occasions of the same as stated by Citsukha. They are :

(I) (1) बालोधसङ्ग्रह - at 6 years

(2) अच्युताष्टक - at 9 years, at the time of leaving the house in search of a Guru.

(II) Works during the two years under Govindamuni.

1. The ten are : ईशकेनकठप्रश्नमुण्डमाण्डूक्यतित्तिराः । ऐतरेयं च छान्दोग्यं बृहदारण्यकं दश ॥

(3) राजयोगभाष्य a commentary of योगतारावलि of Govindamuni.[2]

(4) नर्मदाष्टक

(5) प्रातःस्मरण

(6) साधनपञ्चक

(7) यतिपञ्चक

(8) वाक्यवृत्ति

(9) विवेकचूडामणि

(10) दशश्लोकी

(11) आत्मानात्मविवेक

This last is said by Citsukha to be a gist of the exchanges between Bhartṛhari (Govindamuni's son) and Śaṅkara.

(12) मायाविवरण

(13) एकादशोत्तरवाक्यग्रन्थ

(14) पंचीकरण or

(15) बालबोधिनी प्रणवभाष्य

This is different from बालबोधसङ्ग्रह

(III) Works during the 4 years under Gauḍapāda.

(16) षट्पदी

(17) हरिस्तुति i.e. हरिमीडे स्तोत्र

(18) शतश्लोकी

(19) स्वात्मनिरूपण

(20) परमार्थसङ्ग्रह

(21) प्रौढानुभूतिप्रकरण

(22) धन्याष्टक on seeing Bādarāyana Vyāsa and Sukamuni on mount Kailāsa.

(23) दक्षिणामूर्तिस्तोत्र - addressed to Lord Śiva, manifested an Dakśiṇāmūrti.

(24) परापूजा - offered by way of worship to Lord Śiva as Dakśiṇāmurti.

(25) and (26) शिवपादादिकेशान्तवर्णनस्तोत्र and शिवकेशादिपादान्तवर्णनस्तोत्र when Lord Śiva took Śaṅkara to Mahākailāsa, where Śaṅkara beheld Lord Śiva in all his

2. According to Citsukha, Govindamuni, besides reproducing the Mahābhāsya of Patanjali, was the author of this योग. wrongly ascribed by tradition to Śaṅkara, अद्वैतानुभूति in 48 stanzas and ब्रह्मामृतवर्षिणी in 3000 ग्रन्थ this last being Śaṅkara's compilation from his Guru's teachings. ब्रह्मा. is said to bristle with Upaniṣadic quotations.

divine glory and form.

(27) and (28) स्वात्मभुजङ्ग or आत्मषटक and स्वानुभवप्रकरण when Śaṅkara was declared a Jīvan-mukta by Lord Śiva.

(29) अध्यात्मसन्यासविधि

(30) वेदान्तडिण्डिम

(31) महावाक्यविवरण

(32) तत्त्वबोध

The first three were addressed to Citsukha, the first two before his initiation and the third after the initiation into Sannyāsa and the fourth to his dying mother.

(33) कृष्णाष्टक श्रिया श्लिष्टो विष्णुः & c. addressed by Śaṅkara to Lord Kṛṣṇa for his dying mother.

(34) मातृस्तव or मातृपञ्चरत्न on setting fire to his mother's body.

(35) आत्मबोध - addressed to Sanandana after initiation into Sannyāsa.

(36) प्रयागाष्टक

(37) यमुनाष्टक

(38) माधवाष्टक

(39) लक्ष्मीनृसिंहपञ्चरत्न

(40) वेदसारशिवस्तोत्र

(41) तत्त्वोपदेश - addressed to Prabhākara Mīmāṁsaka, after his conversion by Śaṅkara.

(2) Anantānandagiri, Vyāsācala and Vallīsahāya refer to Śaṅkara's commentary on the Bṛ. Sū.s only.

(3) Cidvilāsa refers to Bhg., 10 principal Upaniṣads, Br. Sū.s. Viṣṇusahasranāma, Rudrādhyāya, Saundaryalahari hymn and other hymns.

(4) **Govindanātha and Sadānanda :** 15 Bhāṣyas on 10 Upaniṣads, and on, नृसिंहतापनीय, ब्र.सू. भगवद्गीता, विष्णुसहस्रनामं & सनत्सुजात

(5) **Rāja Dixit** - Commentaries on ब्र.सू. Upaniṣads, विष्णुसहस्रनाम, a minor work प्रपञ्चसार and hymns like हरिहरस्तुति.

(6) **Tirumala Dixit** - Commentaries on Bhg. Upaniṣads, Br. Sūs. विष्णुसहस्रनाम and minor works.

(7) Mādhava - Commentaries on भ.गीता, 10 Upaniṣads, ब्रह्मसूत्रs, नृसिंहताणनी उप. उपदेशसाहस्री (independent treatise) and minor works.

(8) Guruvaṁśa-Kāvya - Commentaries on गीता, उप.

ब्रह्मसूत्र विष्णुसहस्रनाम 's and सनत्सुजात, उपदेशसाहस्री independent work) सौन्दर्यलहरी, प्रपञ्चसार and hymns to all deities.

(9) Parameśvara Kavi Kanthīrava - Bhlasyas on Bh. Cītā, Upaniṣads (उपनिषद्गण), Br. Sū.S, and independent works like उपदेशसाहस्री etc.

(10) **Bāla Gopāla Yati** - Commentaries on सहस्रनाम, ब्रह्मसूत्र and other Bhāṣyas.

(11) **Brahmānanda Sarasvati** - Bhāṣyas on प्रस्थानत्रय

(12) **Nilakaṇṭha** - Bhasyas on प्रस्थानत्रय, सनत्सुजात, independent works like उपदेशसाहस्री and many other works which the poet is unable to recount.

In addition to these major and minor works, tradition attributes to Śaṅkara infinitely more works, more than 400, most of them minor works and hymns to certain deities. Vāṇi Vilāsa Press, Śrīrangam has published such works in about a dozen volumes and the Oriental Book Agency, Poona, also has published a collection of 70 minor works, including hymns.

Scholars, however, are not ready to accept this traditional view. According to them, the works that can be indisputably ascribed to Śaṅkara are his commentaries on Br. Sūtras, Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Chhāndogya and Taittirīya Upaniṣads (on the last two Up.s., Sureśvara has written his famous Vārtikas).

Dr. Belvalkar holds that in addition to these, Śaṅkara also wrote (i) commentaries on the seven principal Upaniṣads, (except on Māṇdukya Up. and the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda), the Bhg., first three chapters of Aitaraya Āraṇyaka - II and the whole of Ait. Āraṇyaka - III, (ii) minor works like अपरोक्षानुभूति, शतश्लोकी, आत्मबोध, उपदेशसाहस्री (only the metrical portion) and पञ्चीकरणप्रक्रिया and (iii) some hymns like आनन्दलहरी, गोविन्दाष्टक, दक्षिणामूर्तिस्तोत्र, दशश्लोकी, द्वादशपञ्जरिका, चर्पटपञ्जरिका, षट्पदी & हरिमीडेस्तोत्र.

Prof. B. Upādhyāya adds to the above list (i) Commentaries on विष्णुसहस्रनाम, सनत्सुजात, गौडपादकारिका, ललितात्रिशती & नृसिंहतापनी उप.°, all of which Dr. Belvalkar looks upon as doubtful, (ii) some minor works like प्रबोधसुधाकर, विवेकचूडामणि, वाक्यवृत्ति, सौन्दर्यलहरी & प्रपञ्चसार and (iii) hymns like मनीषापञ्चक, सोपानपञ्चक & शिवभुजङ्गप्रयात.

It will be seen that out of the main works, the commentaries on Br. Sū.s. Taitti up., Chh. Up. and Bṛhad. Up. are unanimously held to be Śaṅkara's works. From among the rest also, commentary on Māṇḍūkya Up. and Vākya-Bhāṣya on Kena Up. are more seriously questioned. The commentaries on Muṇḍaka, Kaṭha, Praśa Kena (Pada-Bhāṣya) and Aitareya seem to be more or less conceded by scholars.

Prof. S. Upadhyāya has given cogent reasons to show why Vākya-Bhāṣya on Kena Up. and comm. on Śvetāśvatara Up. cannot be regarded as Śaṅkara's works.

Colophon to the commentary on Nṛsiṁha-pūrvatāpinī refer to it as the first work (आद्यकृति) of Śaṅkara. Citsukha supports Śaṅkara's authorship of the same. The work, however, has not been commented upon by Ānandagiri, who has generally commented upon all other Bhāṣyas of Śaṅkara. Secondly, this commentary cites passages from another work of the same author, प्रपञ्चसार or प्रपञ्चागमशास्त्र ascribing it to himself. This is an unusual procedure in Śaṅkara who has not followed it in any other Bhāṣya of his. This is of course the maiden work of Śaṅkara the procedure can be explained on that basis. But on that account and also on that of some grammatical irregularities found therein, scholars still hesitate to admit it as a genuine work of Śaṅkara.

Ānandagiri, the disciple of Suddhananda, has generally written commentaries on Śaṅkara's Bhāṣyas. After Bhāskara, Rāmānuja is the earliest known critic of Śaṅkara's philosophy. If Ānandagiri had been aware of these criticisms, he would certainly have tried to defend Śaṅkara against them. Since he does not defend him against Rāmānuja, he must have come at an earlier period i.e. earlier thatn the 11th century. He is generally regarded as seventh in the line of Śaṅkara (vide Kāñcī-mutt Paramparā - The validity of this paramparā has been discussed earlier) and with the latest time for Śaṅkara, Ānandagiri is placed before the 11th century A.D. In view of his close proximity in time to Śaṅkara, the existence of his commentary on a Bhāṣya ascribed by him to Śaṅkara, can be taken to be good proof of Śaṅkara's authorship of the same. This test is useful particularly in the cases of Bhāṣyas on Maṇḍukya Up., Gauḍapāda's Kārikās thereon and the Bhagavad-Gītā.

Ānandagiri has written his commentary on the entire Bhāṣya on the Maṇḍukya Up. and Gauḍapāda's Kārikās thereon and has unmistakably attributed the same to Śaṅkara, whom he refers to as Bhagavān-Bhāṣyakāra.[3]

It is interesting to note that he refers to some other interpretations of the first two salutation stanzas,[4] which also he acribes to Śaṅkara. It is also worth noting that he tries to explain the change in metrs in the last line of the second stanza.[5] In his own salutation stanzas as also in his colophons, he refers to himself as Ānandajñāna, the disciple of Suddhānanda-pūjya-pāda,[6] and hence his identity also cannot be disputed.

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3. श्रीगौडपादाचार्यस्य....श्लोकान्....व्याचिख्यासुर्भगवान् भाष्यकारः मङ्गलाचरणं.... समाचरन्.:.. । Introductory Commentary.
4. Ānandagiri also refers to commentary on the same by previous scholars, thus : पूर्वं यद्यपि विद्वांसो व्याख्यानमिह चक्रिरे । तथाऽपि.... यत्यते ॥ - stanza - 4.
5. Read :
   न च द्वितीयश्लोके चतुर्थपादे वृत्तलक्षणाभावादसांगत्यमाशङ्कनीयम् । गाथालक्षणस्य तत्र सुसंपादत्वादिति द्रष्टव्यम् ॥ Comm. on stanza - 2.
6. Read : शुद्धानन्दपदाम्भोजद्वन्द्वमद्वन्द्वतास्पदम् ॥ नमस्कुर्वे.... ॥ stanza - 2 &
   इति श्रीमत्..... शुद्धानन्दपूज्यपादशिष्यभगवदानन्दज्ञानविरचितायां.... ।

If Citsukha is to be believed, Bhāṣya on Māṇḍukya Up. and Kārikās was among the very early works of Śaṅkara and as such the salutation seems explained.

Lastly, considering the tremendous influence of Gauḍapāda's philosophy on Śaṅkara, it seems more than probable that Śaṅkara did writte the Bhāṣya ascribed to him, on the Māṇḍukya Up. and Kārikās.

On the Gītā-Bhāṣya also, there is a similar commentary by Ānandagiri. Ānandagiri is definitely earlier than Rāmānuja and Mādhava for, according to the commentators of these two persons, both of them criticise the Gīta-Bhāṣya at about 100 places and yet there is no attempt in Ānandagiri to defend the Bhāṣya against these criticisms. If Ānanda. had come after Ramanuja or Madhava, he would certainly have put up such a defence. Ananda. clearly ascribes the Gita-Bhāṣya to Bhagavān Bhāṣyakāra,[7] which term he has applied to Śaṅkara, the writer of Bhāṣyas on Bṛ. Sūtras and Upaniṣads. Even the colophons to his commentary (except on the first chapter of Bhg.) refer to the same as an explanation of Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on the Bhg.[7a] According to Ānandagiri, then, Gītā-Bhāṣya was written by the same Śaṅkara, who wrote the other Bhāṣyas on Brahma-Sūtras and Upaniṣads.

Secondly, many subsequent commentators refer to Śaṅkara by name. Commentators like Vedānta-deśika and Jayatīrtha so name him and criticises his interpretations of Gīta-passages while commentators like Venkaṭanātha, Madhusudana-Sarasvati, Śridhara, Nīlakaṇṭha and Dhanapatisurin clearly refer to him as Bhāṣyakāra and Bhagavat-pāda and endorse his interpretations of Gītā-passages. Madhusudana-Sarasvati clearly says that the Bhagavatpada called Śrī-Śaṅkara has interpreted every word of the Bhg.[8] He also refers to the Gītā-bhāṣya as that of Bhagavat-pāda.[9]

Lastly, we are told by Citsukha that the Bhagavad-Gītā, along with Anugītā and Uttara-gītā, formed the Smṛti-prasthāna in his times but as Gauḍapāda had already commented upon the latter two, Śaṅkara commented upon the Bhg. only.

I have dealt with this question of Śaṅkara's authorship of the Gītā-Bhāṣya in an independent article, which tries to answer all the objections raised in the matter and also to produce positive evidence in support of the same. There is no agreement among scholars regarding Śaṅkara's authorship of the Bhāṣyas on विष्णुसहस्रनाम and सनत्सुवात Prof.B. Upādhyāya favours Śaṅkara's authorship while Br. Belvalkar considers it doubtful.

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7. Read : प्रवृत्तं गीताशास्त्रं व्याचिख्यासुर्भगवान् भाष्यकारः.... मङ्गलाचरणं सम्पादयन्.... । Introductory Commentary.

7a. Read : श्रीमद्भगवद्गीताशाङ्करभाष्यव्याख्याने द्वितीय; तृतीय; अध्यायः ॥.

8. Read : व्याख्यातं भगवत्पदैः प्रतिपदं श्रीशङ्कराख्यैः पुनः । Closing stanza No.3.

9. Read : भगवत्पादभाष्यार्थमालोच्यातिप्रयत्नतः । Intro. stanza No.1.

Regarding the minor works, the following points may be noted :

(1) उपदेशसाहस्री consists of two parts गद्यप्रबन्ध and पद्यप्रबन्ध out of these, Sureśvara has quoted many stanzas from the metrical portion, which therefore is generally admitted to be Śaṅkara's work. Even though Rāmatīrtha has commented on both the parts of the works and Vedāntadeśika (1250 A.D.) also refers to the first part as that of Śaṅkara, many scholars do not agree with their view.[10]

(2) शतश्लोकी is commented upon by Ānandagiri and is generally taken to be Śaṅkara's work.

(3) पञ्चीकरणप्रकरण or प्रक्रिया - Sureśvara has written Vārtikās on this work and even Dr. Belvalkar holds that this can be admitted as a work of Śaṅkara.

(4) प्रपञ्चसार - This is a Tāntric work and modern trend of opinion is in favour of ascrbing it to Śaṅkara. Vedānta-Kalpataru at ब्र.सू. I:3:33 refers to and quotes from the work as that of Śaṅkara. The present Śṛṅgeri Svāmiji expressed himself very firmly in favour of Śaṅkara's authorship of the same. Research in recent times in trying to establish Śaṅkara's very close connection with Śri Vidyā and it is quite possible that Śaṅkara did write the work in question.

(5) विवेकचूडामणि also appears to be one of the earlier works of Śaṅkara though, perhaps, it is possible to say that not the whole of it, as available to us today may be ascribed to him.

It is possible that Śaṅkara also wrote some other works like आत्मबोध (addressed to Sanandana), तत्त्वोपदेश (addressed to Prabhākara Mīmāṁsaka), Vedānta-Dindima (addressed to Citsukha), अपरोक्षानुभूति, दशश्लोकी etc. but except tradition and some late commentaries on some of these, there is no evidence to prove Śaṅkara's authorship of the same.

From among the hymns, scholars are generally agreed that Śaṅkara wrote (i) दक्षिणामूर्तिस्तोत्र (ii) हरिमीडेस्तोत्र (iii) चर्पटपञ्जरिका द्वाररापञ्जरिका भावडपञ्जरिका स्तोत्र, together going under the name मोहमुद्गर. Sureśvara and Ānandagiri have written commentaries on the first and the second hymns respectively. It is worth noting that none of the biographers refers even remotly to any one of these. Citsukha refers to the first only.

Among the biographers, there is general agreement that Śaṅkara sang a hymn to some god for the sake of his dying mother. It has been shown earlier that most probably, it was a hymn to Lord Kṛṣṇa and neither to Viṣṇu nor to Śiva. The hymn, therefore, beginning with श्रिया श्लिष्टो विष्णुः & c. as given by Citsukha and Sadānanda, can be ascribed to Śaṅkara.

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10. Vide - Prof. B. Upādhyāya's श्रीशङ्कराचार्य - p.139.

The five stanzas composed in praise of his mother when setting fire to her body, also seem to be Śaṅkara's hymn. It is called मातृस्तव or मातृपञ्चरत्न. Govindanātha quotes one of the five stanzas - vide his शं. चरित IV :6) and it is an excellent tribute to his intense filial affection.

A few more hymns like आत्ममषटक, प्रात:स्मरण, उपदेशपञ्चक, धन्याष्टक, मनीषापञ्चक & c. seem to have come from his pen, though there is not much evidence except their contents and style, which is only subjective, to prove their authorship.



Ekambareshwar Mandir, Kanchi



Additional Sculpture at Kanchi

APPENDIX - A

ŚAṄKARA'S GURUPARAṀPARĀ

Hindus believe that philosophical knowledge or more particularly, the Ātma-vidya, is handed down through a regular line of spiritual teachers. Śaṅkara also received the same in one such line, which is generally represented by the following figures :

Lord Nārāyana - Lord Brahmā - Vasiṣṭha - Śakti - Parāśara - Vyāsa - Śuka - Gauḍapāda - Govinda - Śaṅkara.[1] The four or five principal mutts are at one on this point except that generally, Lord Śiva is added at the very beginning. Thus, Kāñcī, Dvārakā, Śṛṅgeri and Govardhana mutts commence the line from Lord Śiva.

From among the biographers, Anantānandagiri, Bāla-Gopāla and Vallīsahaya are silent upon this point. From the rest, Vyā., Mād., and Sadā., mention it from Vyāsa onwards and give it as :

Vyāsa., - Śuka - Gauḍapāda - Govinda - Śaṅkara. Govindanatha and Rāja. D. omit the name of Vyāsa and give the other four names only. Cidvilāsa, Br. Saras., G.V.K. and Nīla., mention the order from Lord Śiva to Śaṅkara, as done by the mutts. Nīla. alone omits Lord Śiva and begins with Lord Nārāyaṇa.

It will be seen that the first six figures from Śiva to Parāśara are mythical while from Vyāsa onwards, they are historical. Perhaps, Vasiṣṭha, Śakti and Parāśara are also historical but that is open to argument. According to Citsukha, Śaṅkara was initiated by Lord Śiva Himself but the intermediate stages, viz., Vyāsa - Śuka - Gauḍapāda - Govinda are the same.

Thus, even though this account seems to be more or less uniform, it has been

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1. Read : नारायणं पद्मभवं वसिष्ठं शक्तिं च तत्पुत्रपराशरं च ।
   व्यासं शुकं गौडपदं महान्तं गोविन्दयोगीन्द्रमथाऽस्य शिष्यम् ॥
   श्रीशङ्कराचार्यम्..... ॥
2. Read : सदाशिवसमारम्भां शङ्कराचार्यमध्यमाम् ।
   अस्मदाचार्यपर्यन्तां वन्दे गुरुपरम्पराम् ॥
   The second of these two stanzas, quoted popularly is quoted in Suṣamā on Stanza 1 of G.R.M. No further trace of either could be found.

questioned by scholars on the ground that Vyāsa, Śuka, Gauḍapāda and Govinda do not come so closely upon each other as they are shown to do but some - perhaps many - more Ācārya must have intervened between such two, particularly between Gauḍapāda and Govinda. According to Mr. Bodas, the first three, Viz., Śiva, Nārāyaṇa and Brahmā represent the first stage of the threefold foundation of Advaita philosophy - viz., knowledge, devotion and karman. The second stage was that of the Smṛtikāras, represented by Vasiṣṭha, Śakti and Parāśara. The third stage is represented by the Sūtrakārās, viz. Badarāyaṇa Vyāsa and Śuka while Gauḍapāda, Govinda and Śaṅkara represent the fourth stage of the Ācaryas, who brought the theoretical knowledge into practice nd spread it in the world at large. Thus, the order of Gurus is only symbolical of the various stages in the evolution of Hindu religion.

Recently, a new work called Śrī-Vidyārṇava, ascribed to Vidyāraṇya Muni, has been published in the Kāśmīra Sanskrit series. This work gives some very different and new information about Śaṅkara's Guru Paramparā and his disciples. Thus, between Vasiṣṭha and Gauḍapāda, it mentions about 65 ācāryas while between Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara, it gives five names, Viz., Gauḍa-Pāvaka-Parāśarya-Satyanidhi - Ramacandra - Govinda.[3]

This account no doubt sseems to explain the difficulty felt by scholars like Mr. Bodas. The reliability of the version, however, has to be determined before the solution can be accepted.

The work is question is said to have been written towards the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century A.D. The author claims to be the disciple of Viṣṇuśarman, one of the fourteen principal direct disciples of Śaṅkara and claims to be the fourth in line from Śaṅkara himself. Prof. H.B. Bhide has expressed a doubt about Vidyāraṇya's date in the 12th century A.D. and his claim to be the fourth in line from Śaṅkara, covering thereby a period of 300 - 350 years and even more, if, as Dy. Sahasrabuddhe and Prof. B. Upādhyāya hold, Śaṅkara is to be placed towards the end of the 7th century A.D. Tradition and even known history place him in the 14th century A.D. and Śṛṅgeri tradition regards him as the 13th (or 21st head as per the information of the Late Shri V.V. Athalye - Vide Chapter V of his thesis) in line from Śaṅkara. If he is to be the fourth, every ācārya will get 85 to 100 years, which is impossible.

It has been shown in the thesis that at least Gauḍapāda - Śaṅkara meeting was a historical possibility, Gauḍapāda, again, in his Vārtikās on the Nṛsiṁha-Uttaratapini Upaniṣad, clearly refers to Śukamuni as his Guru.[4]

Lastly, the fourteen disciples of Śaṅkara, mentioned by this work, include five

3. Read : .....गौडः पावक एव च । पराशर्थः सत्यनिधिः रामचन्द्रस्ततः परम् । गोविन्द..... ॥.

4. Read : इति श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमच्छुकमुनीन्द्रशिष्यश्रीमद्गौडपादविरचिते उत्तरतापनीय विवरणे प्रथमः खण्डः । - Colophon.

Sannyāsins and nine householders. Except Padmapāda, however and perhaps Viṣṇuśarman, no other well-known disciple of Śaṅkara is referred to in it. All the others are foreign to all accounts of Śaṅkara's life, even to that of Citsukha.

Unless and until, therefore, some more conclusive corroboration of this new information is obtained it cannot be considered reliable and, therefore, till such time, it seems better to fall in line with the absolutely uniform tradition in the matter.



Punyakoti Shrine Kanchi



Ekambareshwar Mandir, Kanchi

APPENDIX - B

A MINOR POEM AND TWO ADDITIONAL BIOGRAPHIES OF ŚAṄKARA

(1) The minor poem is called विश्वदेशिकविजय and runs into about 120 stanzas. The last stanza refers to the poem as लक्ष्मीनृसिंहगुरुवर्यकृति Laxminṛsimha himself is referred to as श्रीकल्यवंशकलशार्णवपूर्णचन्द्र. As a biography, the poem has no value for it does not attempt anything of the kind. It takes brief notices of the ācārya right from Lord Śiva upto Vidyāraṇya. Śaṅkara and Vidyāraṇya receive greater attention than the rest. Beyond a few brief references to a couple of incidents like मण्डनदर्शन and परकायाप्रवेश and the four main disciples, the stanzas devoted to Śaṅkara only eulogise him. The major portion of the poem is devoted to Vidyāraṇya, after whom no ācārya is referred to. Even though, therefore, the work appears to be a sufficiently old one, it is not useful to us as a biography and hence need not detain us any further.

(2) Reference has been made in Chapter II to शङ्करविजयसङ्ग्रह by पुरुषोत्तमभारती, as one of the new works brought to light. The same was not considered important for the main thesis and hence has not been much used therein. As, however, it contains some new and interesting details, it is proposed to deal with those details here very briefly. Whatever could be said about the author and the work in general has already been said in Chapter II. The story runs thus :

Lord Śiva, disguised as a Bhikśu, came to the earth in Kaliyuga, for inspection and noticed that brahmins had given up their Vedic duties and followed different creeds and practices. He came and saw Kālaṭi and felt that it was necessary for him to take birth to punish the evil-doers and protect the good men. As He was going about, some widow, devoted to God, saw Him and with a saluation, asked Him who He was. He declared Himself to her and said to her that He intended to take birth there only. He gave her a seed of Kūṣamāṇḍa - fruit and asked her to place it at the bottom of a pillar and to water it daily. After asking her not to pluck flower or fruit from the tree, He disappeared (Ch. I).

The lady did as instructed and in course of time, a fruit appeared on the tree. Sometime thereafter, the fruit automatically dropped to the ground and a child came out of the same. The widow took the child home and began to nurse it. Her neighbours asked her how she had come by it. She explained the whole story but perhaps they did not believe it and doubting her chastity, went away in anger. She continued to nurse the child. In the meantime, Bṛhaspati came and taught the child all the Vedas, Scriptures and Purāṇas and he became proficient in all of them. He then took Sannyāsa and went to Govindamuni, disciple of Gauḍapāda, and under him, became a self-realised person (Ch.II).

Then, he started on a pilgrimage. He went to Badarikāśrama, where he stayed for a long time, wrote his commentary (not specified) and met Veda Vyāsa, who had come to see him. Then he came to his 'mother', who remembered him in her last moments. She simply embraced him and passed away. The brahmins refused to help the cremation. He, therefore, curssed them all and calling the Gods to his aid, cremated the body. Then he went to Badarikāśrama, where he initiated Viṣṇuśarman into Sannyāsa and named him Sanandana. Gods named him Padmapāda. With him, he came to Prayaga, where he got two more disciples, Hastāmalaka and Toṭakā. With these three, he continued his pilgrimage and during the same, overcame Kāpalikas, Cārvākas and Pāśupatas in argument and established the Vedic religion (Ch. III).

Thereafter, he went to Siddhapuri, where he met Maṇḍana in argument and after defeating him, made him a Sannyāsin and named him Sureśvara. The story of their meeting, including the initial exchanges, is just the same as in other biographers (CH. IV).

Then Maṇḍana's wife became angry and challenged Śaṅkara to a discussion. Here again, the story of Śaṅkara's para-kāya-praveśa is recounted as faithfully as done by other biographers. When Śaṅkara had satisfied her, he asked her to follow him. She agreed on condition that if he looked back, she would return to her abode. Śaṅkara agreed but when he had gone as far as Paṁpāpura, he looked back to find out whether or not she was following him and immediately, with his permission, Vāṇī disappeared and went to Brahmā's abode. Then Śaṅkara defeated the Durmatas and established six-fold worship. Then, he went to Rāmasetu, where after composing a hymn to Śiva, he went to Śivaloka. His disciples also went to different lokas. (Ch.V).

The last chapter merely says that just as Nrsiṁha and Hanūmān, with five faces each, and Śrī Kṛṣṇa with five pāṇḍavas, were born in the first three Yugas, so was Śaṅkara with four disciples born in Kaliyuga.

It will be easily seen that except for some bare facts, the narration is altogether novel and does not agree with that of any other biographer. The story of Śaṅkara-Kumārila meeting is omitted altogether. The version is highly mythical and obviously without any basis for its details. It has been given here only as a curiosity and does not require further discussion.

(3) Nīlakaṇṭha's Śaṅkarābhyudaya was procured after the main thesis was written out. Many people have quoted from it in connection with Śaṅkara's date but the original work has been brought to light only now.

The work has been printed in Telugu characters in the South and I am working on a Devanāgarī copy of the same.

The author's name has been given in the ending stanzas of the chapter as Nīlakaṇṭha. In the closing stanzas of the last chapter of the work, the author tells us that Cidghanānanda and Venkammā were his grandparents, Trymbaka was his paternal uncle and Trivikrama and Parvati were his parents. He learnt Nyāya and Vyākarṇa from Gangādhara Śarman while Śankarānanda Sarasvati was his (spiritual) preceptor. He also pays homage to Nṛsiṁha Bhārati Svāmī, which shows that he was an adherent of the Śṛṅgeri mutt. He must have belonged to the 18th century A.D.

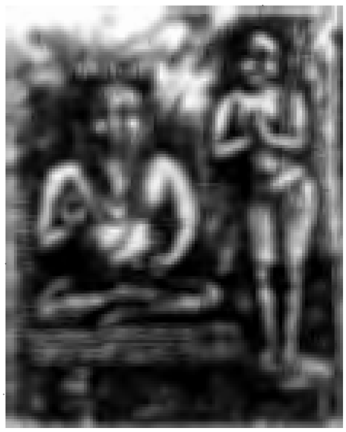
It is indeed surprising that another work Śaṅkara-Maṇdāra - Saurabha is also written by Nīlakaṇṭha and his antecedents are exactly identical with those given above. Yet, none of the two works mentions the other anywhere, even remotely.

The present work is in six sargas and is entirely in verse. The work generally follows the version of Mādhava's S.S.' Jaya, while in matter of details, it agrees with the version of Śaṅkara Mandāra Saurabha. Yet, it has some variations of its own. Some of them are :

(i) When Śaṅkara had finished his education. his Guru asked him to go home and become a householder. Śaṅkara requested him to name his fee, which the Guru refused to take. Śaṅkara then pressed his feet with his forehead and with his permission, returned home. Mādhava makes no mention of this fee-incident while in Śaṅkara-Mandāra-Saurabha, he is said to have offered his Guru 1000 salutes by way of fee and then returned home.

(ii) When asked about Śaṅkara's life-span, Agastya said that Brahmā had ordained for him a life of eight years only. Śaṅkara himself would earn by penance another eight years and Vyāsa would grant him sixteen years more. According to both of Madhava and Śaṅkara-Mandāra-Saurabha, Agastya said that Śaṅkara's life span was 16 years while according to Mādhava, he would live for another 16 years.

It is unnecessary to dilate on this point any further. It is sufficient to conclude by repeating the remark that though the work generally follows Mādhava's account of Śaṅkara's life, the details of the same agree with those of Śaṅkara-Mandāra-Saurabha. The work belongs to the same period as this Ś.M. Saurabha and its authenticity is just that of this same work.



Sri Acharyal and Vyasa Bagwan at
Varadharaja Swamy Temple Mother's Samithi

APPENDIX - C

ŚAṄKARA'S PHILOSOPHY

An account of Śaṅkara's philosophical tenets does not form part of the thesis proper and yet it was felt that Śaṅkara's life-story would not be complete without some notice being taken thereof. Hence, it is proposed to consider his philosophy briefly under three heads, viz., (1) metaphysics (2) epistemology, and (3) Ethics.

It is surprising to find that none of the 15 or 16 biographers, except Sadānanda, discusses or explains Śaṅkara's philosophical teachings. Sadānanda alone gives something like a summary of his commentary on the Bṛ. Sūtras, while Anantānandagiri gives some remarkable statements of Śaṅkara in the course of his discussions with the various theorists. The other references to his philosophy in other biographers are to be found in their accounts of Śaṅkara's discussion with Maṇḍana. Since, however, the authenticity of the accounts of these discussions is a matter of dispute, we cannot rely upon them for getting at Śaṅkara's philosophical teaching. For that purpose, we have to resort to his commentaries on the Br. Sūtras and Upaniṣads. His minor works and hymns also contain important matter on the point.

Śaṅkara's Metaphysics

Śaṅkara was an uncomprising Advaitin and his theories are briefly put as :

ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्या जीवो ब्रह्मैव नापरः ।

This line sums up Śaṅkara's metaphysics.

Ātman

"Metaphysics," says Dr. Radhakrisnan, "is a consideration of what is implied in the fact of experience."[1] This consideration takes two forms - subjective and objective. Subjectively, the reality underlying the phenomena of diverse personalities is one Ātman, a non-differenced conscisouness. Everything else may be doubted but not one's own self. Everybody is conscious of this self, which can't be denied for the very act of denial will establish its existence. If no such thing as Ātman had existed, everybody would have believed that he did not exist. It does not so happen. On the contrary, everyone believes that he exists. The whole

1. Vide 'The Vedanta-Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja', p. 41.

world is based on experience which requires an agent. This agent is Ātman, who is the basis of all dealings of pramāṇa, prameya & c. His existence, therefore, prior to them is easily established and hence cannot be deined. The dealings may come and go but Ātman continues to exist. In fact, everything in the visible world is, at some time or the other, sublated but not so the Ātman. The waking state is no more in the dream-state and vice versa and both do not exist in the state of deep sleep, which is absent in either state. Ātman, however, continues through all these three states as their common witness, on the basis of which they appear and disappear. The cognitiions also, 'I have known a past thing', 'I know the present', and 'I shall know the future' prove the same point. The knowable may be sublated but not the knower, who, therefore, cannot be disproved.

This Ātman cannot be identified with the body-state, as is done by the Cārvākas for the attributes - animation, sentiency, recollection & c. cannot be said to belong to the body, whose attributes are quite different. Nor can the Caitanya be said to be perception of the four elements grouped together, for, in that case, the elements will be their own objects, which is absurd.

Nor is this Ātman a mere series of impermanent mental states, as held by the Buddhists, for some permenent entiry is essential to cognise the whole as a series. Śaṅkara has driven home to the Vijñānavadin Buddhist the necessity of such a postulate as against his unsatisfactory theory of Ālaya-vijñāna. Even so, the world is not a void, for, someone is required to cognise it to be so.

This Ātman is of the nature of pure intelligence - eternal knowledge. Before creation it is non-objective consciousness. After creation, the same Ātman also becomes the knower of external objects in the world. This aspect of Ātman, however, is not to be confused with the logical apprehension, implying the distinction of subject and object. It is essentially different from the impermanent knowership of eye-sight &c. Ātman does not depend upon such implements for the act of knowing. Even when the eye or the ear is not working, Ātman perceives objects or hears sounds in a dream, which shows that Ātman, the knower, is eternal. Ātman is a knower so long as the external objects exist. When they cease to do so, Ātman is changeless and without dimensions (Vibhu) and the substratum of all our experiences. Śaṅkara does not totally abstract Ātman from the not-self. Logically, the empirical self is the only reality but on the plane of intuition, where the subject - object distinction disappears, the only truth is ultimate consciousness, Sat. Cit. and Ananda. It is neither the doer nor the enjoyer for activity implies limit and limit and consciousness are opposed in nature.

Brahman

Ātman is identical with Brahman, the objective reality, underlying all the experiences and the visible world. The very relative and changing nature of the world makes it necessary to posit such an absolute and unchanging i.e. eternal reality. Scriptures testify to such a one in

Brahman, outside of which the world can't exist. On the basis of this reality, all the changes and appearances in the world become possible. The phenomena do not merely proceed from but also subsist in this reality.

This Brahman, according to Śaṅkara, is declared by Śruti to be of two kinds, Nirguṇa and Saguna.[2] The first is the fundamental or foundational reality and is beyond all words and thought. It has no relations in time and space. It is absolutely without a parallel or a second, there being no plurality as in Sāṅkhyas or Naiyayikas and it can only be described as non-dual. It is beyond all empirical dvandvas like being and non-being, permanent and changing, knowledge and ignorance, personal and impersonal. It is beyond guṇas and yet is not a mere blank. It is Sat, Cit, ānanda in the sense that it is opposed to their contraries. In this commentary on Taitti. Up. 2 : 1, Śaṅkara explains at great length how the description सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं has to be understood, as applying to Brahman. The three words, according to him are to be taken in the sense of lakśaṇa and not Viśeṣana.[3] Śaṅkara often describes it as नित्यशुद्धबुद्धमुक्तस्वभाव:[4] Rāmānuja has misunderstood this Nirguna nature of Śaṅkara's Brahman and criticised him for it. According to Rāmā, it is possessed of infinite guṇas. He seems to forget that being possessed of infinite gunas is ultimately the same thing as being Nirguṇa. Just as in higher mathematics, a circle at infinity becomes a straight line. In the words of Dr. Rādhā., "it is the highest truth, perfect being and fullest freedom."[5] It has no internal variety and is beyond all attributes. According to Śaṅkara, the purport of scripturers is this Nirguṇa Brahman, divested of all attributes[6] and it is beyond all causality. It is known through the scriptures only[6] & its knowledge alone liberates man from bondage. On its own plane, it is the only reality. It is an absolute and does not evolve like the absolute of Hegel. Such an absolute stripped of all its attributes seems a featureless blank to the untrained eyes but not so to the mystic.

Saguṇa Brahman is, according to Sankara, on the basis of scriptural authority, the logical link between Nirguṇa Brahman and the world of phenomena. It is the maximum that logical thought can apprehend. It is not the highest reality but is dissolved as soon as the higher i.e. Nirguṇa Brahman is realised. The concept of Īsvara is an empirical postulate which is practically useful.

This Brahman is the creator, sustainer and destroyer of the world of objects. It is both

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2. Read : द्विरूणं हि ब्रह्म अवगम्यते, नामरूपविकारभेदोपाधिविशिष्टं, तद्विपरीतं च सर्वोपाधिविवर्जितम् ॥ ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्य - on I : 1 : 12
3. Read : सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्मेति ब्रलणो लक्षणार्थं वाक्यम् । .... समानजातीयेभ्य एव निवर्तकानि विशेषणानि विशेष्यस्य, लक्षणं तु सर्वत एव... ।
4. Vide : ब्र.सू.भाष्य I:1:1 अस्ति तावद्ब्रह्म नित्यशुद्धबुध्वमुक्तस्वभावं, सर्वज्ञं सर्वशक्तिसमन्वितम् ॥ Also Bhg. VII : 13 (Introductory) एवंभूतमपि परमेश्वरं नित्यशुद्धबुद्धमुक्तस्वभावं सर्वभूतात्मानं निर्गुणं.... ।
5. Vide 'The Vedānta-Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja', p.103.
6. Read : सर्वासु हि उपनिषत्सु ज्ञेयं ब्रह्म..... इत्यादिविशेषप्रतिषेधेनैव विर्दिश्यते । - Bhg. XIII : 12.

the material and the efficient cause of the same. Like nails and hair from the human body, the world proceeds from Īśvara, without soiling his nature. He is thus immanent in the world, which contains qualities peculiar to itself. The world, however, loses those qualities when it re-enters Īśvara in pralaya, though the force of differentiation in the world continues in Him during that state and this force forms the basis of next creation. The names and forms exist potentially in God before creation.

Īśvara's creation proceeds from no specific purpose. Its creative activity is only an undesired overflow of his perfection. Creation is only his Līlā or sport, like a king going a hunting without any purpose. Creation, thus, is only the outcome of His nature, neither mere chance nor thoughtlessness.[8] He requires no implements for the act of creation. He uses his great powers for the purpose.[9] From the moral point of view, the purpose of creation is to serve as a stage for the drama of soul's life, to reap the harvest of his beginningless Karmas. It is for this reason that inequality and cruelty do not attach to Him. The souls reap what they have sown. He is like the rain, growing what is sown in the land.[10]

The Doctrine of Avidyā or Māyā

According to Śaṅkara, everything is Brahman, which is beyond changes and activity, a mere subject. Nothing exists outside it. If such a Brahman is to be the cause of the world, which signifies all changes and activity, it has to be explained how the activity and change take place, how the subject gets split up into subject and object. "Theoretical philosophy" says Dr. Rādhā., "while deducing the entire world from one first principle, is obliged to accept some principle of self-expression,[11] and that element is had in the conception of God. God or Īśvara combines the changeless and actionless element of Brahman and the changing active element, which is called Māyā or Avidyā. Why the world appears in place of Brahman is stated by Śaṅkara by saying that it is due to Avidyā or Māyā. He says that this Avidyā or Māyā is beginningless and thus virtually refuses to say anything further about it, viz., how this darkness of Avidyā comes to be associated with the light that is Brahman. It is due to this Avidyā that the one subject appears split up as subject and object, which is at the root of all creation and its round of births and deaths, happiness and misery. In the individual sphere, Avidyā gives rise to a multiplicity of individual souls and in the general sphere, to the infinite variety of names and forms, that constitute the world. It is to be noted that Śaṅkara makes no particular distinction between Avidyā and Māyā, as is done by later thinkers of his school, relating the first to the individual souls and the second to God or the world. He has mostly used them as synonmous and for the most part, has used the word Avidya in connection with the names

7. Read : इदं तु ज्ञेयं..... शब्दैकप्रमाणगम्यत्वात् । - Bhg.XIII : 12.
8. Vide : ब्र.सू.भा. on II : 1 : 33.
9. Vide : ब्र.सू.भाष्य on II : 1 : 24
10. Vide : ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्य II : 1 : 34
11. See 'The Vedānta', p. 120.

and forms of the world, throughout his commentaries on the prasthana-traya as also in his minor works.

Starting from the human end, the world cannot be from Brahman because it is changeless nor can it be from Prākṛti alone, for she is unintelligent. With Prākṛti as an ultimate by the side of Brahman, we shall get duality. Śaṅkara, therefore, holds that Prakṛti i.e. Māyā develops the world with the help of the power of Subject God, who combines the two principles Brahman and Prakṛti. Śaṅkara's Saguṇa Brahman is only the connecting link between the ultimate and the world and is thus different from Saguṇa Brahman is only the connecting link between the ultimate and the world and is thus different from Saguṇa Brahman of Rāmānuja, for whom it is the highest reality.

There can be no casual relation between Brahman and the world for the two belong to different orders or reality. Brahman is real and the world is only phenomenal. It is a case of identity or philosophical non-difference or empirical co-existence. The world is neither a modification which then would become non-eternal nor is it a developed state thereof for that would make Brāhman relative. Śaṅkara refutes the Brahmapariṇāma-vada, attributed by tradition to Bhartṛ-prapañca. The relation between Brahman and the world is like the one between the rope and the snake, where the cuase or the base is totally unaffected by the effect. This phenomenon is known as Vivarta or appearance, which Śaṅkara has postulated in effect. He has actually used the word Vivarta only once or twice but in effect, the theory is the same. Śaṅkara would say that this Vivarta takes place on account of Māyā or Avidyā, which like Vivarta, is just another name for the phenomenal nature of the world. This Māyā or Avidyā itself is phenomenal and is removed by the knowledge of the base, viz., the attributeless Brahman.

The World

The world, then, in Śaṅkara's philosophical system is only an appearance, like the snake on the rope or the silver on the conch-shell. The world is only phenomenally true in that it exists only so long as its base is not cognised. With the realisation of the base, the world appearance vanishes. The appearance arises on the base and is co-eval with it. It is super-imposed on that base, which alone is true because it is never sublated.[12] If, therefore, the theory of super-imposition distinguishes Śaṅkara's philosophy from the reaction of the Vaiśesikas, the theory of Superinposition which implies a basal truth, easily marks it out from that of the nibilists, who would propose a void altogether. Śaṅkara has taken great pains to refute the realists by pointing out, by means of scriptures as well as reason, that the effect is non-distinct from its cause and cannot have an existence independent of it. This however, brought him perilously near the subjective idealism of the Vijñānavādin Buddhist, and earned him the epithet 'a crypto-Buddhist' at the hands of the Mādhavas and others. He, therefore,

12. Read : सत्यमिति यद्रूपेण यन्निश्चितं तद्रूपं न व्यभिचरति तत्सत्यम् ।
यद्रूपेण यन्निश्चितं तद्रूपं व्यभिचरति तदनृतमित्युच्यते । तै.त्तिं.उप.भा. - IV : 1.

refutes their theory very vehemently and points out that the world of external objects is an inescapable fact. He, howover, has made it clear times without number that these external objects, consisting of names and forms are the result of Avidyā and have life during the existence of Avidyā. As soon as Avidyā is removed, the world of becoming is dissolved into non-dual Brahman. This raises a doubt as to the exact place Śaṅkara assigns to the world of becoming in his scheme of thought. The answer seems to be like this :

Śaṅkara has postulated different orders of reality or rather of error, for, in fact, Reality is only one. The degrees are of error only. In Śaṅkara's words, Reality is that which always remains without change.[13] That is the transcendental state, where only attributeless non-dual Brahman shines supreme, without a second. From this standpoint, there is no world and nothing of the kind and Śaṅkara would agree with Gauḍapāda's theory of Ajāti.[14] It has to be noted that while Gauḍapāda stresses the transcendental aspect of philosophical reality, Śaṅkara pays more attention to the empirical side of the same. On the empirical side, he concedes temporary reality to the world, upto the point of realisation of the highest reality. On this empirical level, he recognises two degree of error, viz., one phenomenal, pertaining to the waking state and the other illusory pertaining to rope-snake, conch-silver or the dream-state. He often compares the waking and the dream states and says that both are मायामात्र the difference being one of degree only.[15] The dream-state is sublated every day while the waking state enjoys a longer life, before it is sublated. It may be noted that the world, in this context, is phenomenally real only when compared with the dream state, but compared with the state of Reality, it is again illusory. It is a big dream from which the sleeping soul has to wake up to his true nature. Śaṅkara refers to the world-expanse as avastu, anṛta, māyāmātra and in support of the last attribute, quotes the famous stanza of Gauḍapāda, viz., अनादिमायया सुप्तः यदा जीवः प्रबुद्ध्यते । अजमनिद्रमस्वप्नमद्वैतं बुध्यते तदा ॥ - Māṇḍ Kārikā - I : 16. Which clearly shows that he also looked upon the so-called phenomenal state that world is as an only a big dream. So long, however, as this state continues, all the visible world is regarded as real and existing, though not independently of Brahman and Śaṅkara fights against the subjective idealism of the Buddhists, who have no such saving distinction of states. Transcendentally, the world is sublated and is non-existent but empiracally it appears. Hence, Śaṅkara calls it Mithyā, which is rather a technical term in Vedānta system. It means that which cannot be called either Sat or Asat. Such the world is and hence it is Mithyā. Anivarcarīya is just a paraphrase of the same word. Thus, on the highest level, the world is illusory while empirically, it exists. While discussing the question of non-difference between cause and effect, Śaṅkara says in very clear

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13. Read : पकरूपेण ह्ययस्थितो योऽर्थः स परमार्थः ॥ ब्रह्मसूत्रमाष्य. II : 1:11

14. Read : न निरोधो न चौत्पत्तिर्त वद्धो न च साधकः ।
न मुमुक्षर्न वे मुक्त इत्येपा परमार्थता ॥ भाण्डूक्यकारिका - II : 32.

15. Read :
न च वियदादिसर्गस्याप्यात्यन्तिकं सत्यत्वमस्ति । प्रति पादितं हि........ समस्तस्य प्रपञ्चस्य मायामात्रत्वम् । प्राक्तु ब्रह्मात्मत्व दर्शनाद्वियदादिप्रपञ्चो व्यवस्थितरूपो भवति । सन्ध्यायस्तु प्रपञ्चः प्रतिदिनं वाध्यत इति । अतो वैशेषिकमिवं सन्ध्यस्य मायामात्रत्वम् ॥ - Br. Su.Bh. III : 2 : 4.

terms that all vyavahāra holds before the rise of knowledge, after which it has no existence whatever.[16] He uses the word abhāva.

It may be, as Dr. Rādhā says, that Śaṅkara conceives of Mokśa as possible through the world of experience. This, however, does not confer reality on the world, for liberation is as much a part of the phenomenal world as is the bondage and if bondage is unreal, liberation cannot be anything better.[17] In fact, it is even difficult to agree with Dr. Rādhā. that Śaṅkara rejects all attempts to bring waking experience to the level of dreams. The passage from his commentary on Br. Sū. III : 2 : 4, already referred to, is quite clear on the point. He says clearly that both the states are Māyāmātra, with a difference only in the degree of sublation. Śaṅkara does not equate the two states but definitetly draws a parallel between them and quite many times, he has tried to explain the nature of the world by reference to the dream-state. In his famous hymn चर्पटपञ्जरिका he clearlly asks the person to give up the world as Svapna-vicāra.[18] In the very first stanza of another well-known hymn of his, viz., दक्षिणामूर्तिस्तोत्र he says that the world is created really inside Ātman but as though outside, as in the state of sleep.[19] In Śataślokī, Śaṅkara clearly establishes the phenomenality of the world through the analogy of the dream-world creation. While commenting on the आरम्भणाधिकरण - II : 1:14, he uses the analogy of the dream and says that just as the dream-world is real before awakening, so also the waking experience is real before self-realisation. If, now, the world is to have some reality because it makes liberation possible, we shall have to assume some reality for the dream-state or rope-snake phenomenon also for that also gives results (fear, delight and seminal discharge) visible in and true for the waking state. As a matter of fact, Śaṅkara is so explicit on the point, that the world subsists only on the phenomenal or empirical plane but ceases to do so on the plane of absolute reality, as to leave no doubt whatsoever. As pointed out already, he says clearly that the Upaniṣads declare absence of Vyavahāra on the plane of that i.e. absolute reality and that the Sūtrakāra has declared the theory of non-difference from the point of view of that state. The analogy of the ocean, its waves, foam & c. Śaṅkara relegates to the phenomenal state only. It is significant that he describes his Nirguṇa Brahman negatively as निष्प्रपञ्च, सर्वोपाधिरहित & c.

In this connection, it is worth while examining Śaṅkara's commentary on Br.Sū. III : 2 : 21. He is discussing the possibility of a Niyoga contained in the Śruti texts, laying down

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16. Read : एवं परमार्थावस्थायां सर्वव्यवहाराभावं वदन्ति वेदान्ताः ॥ - Comm. on ब्र.सू. II : 1 : 14.

17. Read :
न चात्मनः संसारित्वम् ॥ अविवाध्यस्तत्वादात्मनि संसारस्य । न हि रज्जुशुक्तिजनकाग गनादिषु सर्परजस्तमलादीनि मिथ्याज्ञानाध्यस्तानि तेषां भवन्तीति ॥ छा. भाष्य VIII : 12; also vide - उपदेश साहसी X : 6 विवेकचूडा Stanzas. 570, 572 and 574 and तत्त्वोपदेश Stanzas 80 and 81 - quoted from Gauḍa.

18. Read : ... इति परिभावय सर्वमसारं विश्वं त्यक्त्वा स्वप्नविचारम् ॥

19. Read :
विश्वं दर्पणदृश्यमाणनगरीतुल्यं निजान्तर्गतम् । पश्यन्नात्मनि मायया बहिरिवोद्भूतं यथा निद्रया ॥ stanza 1.

formless reality through form. The objector says that the niyoga refers to prapañcapravilaya (प्रपञ्चप्रविलय) and then Śaṅkara takes up this word for dissection and analysis. He says that if the prapañca really existed, mere man would not be able to dissolve it. Moreover, once it was dissolved, there would be no prapañca left for others at all. It exists and yet has been dissolved by men in the past. This alternative is thus ruled out. If, therefore, it is only due to Avidyā, a superimposition upon reality, a realisation of that base will uproot it along with Avidyā, even like the dream-world. This passage is extremely important in that it clearly shows that in Śaṅkara's view, the world, even on the phenomenal plane, does not so much exist as it appears to do so and does not exist at all when self or Brahman is realised for, that Brahman is niṣprapañca. The first alternative strongly reminds us of Gauḍapāda's Kārikā - प्रपञ्चो यदि विद्येत निवर्तेन न संशयः । मायामात्रमिदं सर्वमद्वैतं परमार्थतः ॥ (I : 1 7), of which it appears to be a mere paraphrase.

Some make a distinction between what they call essence and existence. Their view is that on the highest plane, objects exist but their essence is Brahman. This is how the non-differences is explained. Here, the point is; is there any distinction to be made between essence and existence, i.e. does existence (i.e. the object in its entirety) contain anything in addition to essence or it does not? If it does, it means duality, which is foreign to Śaṅkara's philosophy. If it does not, the distinction is without difference. It cannot even be said that just as name and form add to the essence, to form the product, so also the world may be looked upon as name and form with Brahman as its essence for, Śaṅkara's Brahman is Niṣprapañca, where prapañca stands for name and form. Śaṅkara's Brahman, again, is not a unity but an absolute non-duality, which does not have any kind of internal variety. Only Brahman, therefore, exists. This view is confirmed when we look at his conception of liberation or the liberated soul.

Bondage means becoming conscious of the world of name and form on account of Avidyā. The consciousness of the world is rooted in the consciousness of the individual body, with which the self identifies itself. When the self realises its own true nature, this identification and the consciousness are removed and Saṁsāra, with its cause Avidyā is no more. This is liberation, which is referred to as ब्रह्मभावः or अशरीरत्व (Br.Sū.Bh. I : 1:4).

Perception of world and its objects is dependent upon the identification with the body and its organs. When that identification is removed by realisation of Brahman, perception of the world, with all its distinction of क्रिया, कोरक, फल, नाम, रूप, & c. ceases. The name and form are mere appearance on the reality and must perforce fall off when that reality is cognised. In the case of bhrama (भ्रम) recognition of the base is always equal to non-cognition of the appearance.[20] The realised soul of the Jñānin can never see the world as such and that is why Śaṅkara stresses the Karma - Sannyāsa aspect in his case so strongly.[21]

Dr. Rādhā.'s idea is that the fact that Śaṅkara admits the possibility of the continuance of the body of the Jñānin even after self-realisation, shows that according to him, the world, to his view, is not altogether illusory but only that he ha reinterpreted it, without negating it. Prof.

Hiriyaṇṇa says the same thing when he distinguishes between those realised persons who, remain in their own condition of realisation ad those who after the rise of knowledge, return to the world which, however they know to be metaphysically unreal. Śaṅkara, following the Sūtrakāra and the Bhg., admits that some qualified souls (not all) work for the world even after liberation.

As against this, however, we have his repeated insistence on the essential opposition between Jñāna and Karman and Jñāna and perception of duality of any kind. In his two monor works, अपरोक्षानुभूति and विवेकचूडामणि, he says every clearly that the body that remains is totally unconnected with the soul and that it is moved here and there by the prāṇa-vāyu.[22] The body that is seen is only an appearance of a body[23] and no sense organ indulges in any of its activities, the soul being immersed in its own eternal form, for such eternal existence in that form is liberation.[24] The appearance of the world is due to the mind which is merged in Brahman in liberation-state and hence the appearance as such does not remain.[25] The disciple, initiated by his Guru realised himself and said that the world he was seeing till then was now no more and that he saw, heard or knew nothing.[26] It is very curious that Śaṅkara even does away with the theory of prārabdha, which, he says, is meant for making the ignorant people understand as to how the body of the self-realised person continues to exist.[27]

What, then, are we to do with Śaṅkara's theory of Jīvan-mukti, which says : सिद्धं जीवतोऽपि विदुषः अशरीरत्वम्[28] The answer is that from his point of view, it is अशरीरत्व proper, both in letter and spirit while from the empirical point of view, it is in spirit only. Śaṅkara himself says in his introductory commentary on the Bhg. (उपोद्घात भाष्य) that such a soul does no action and the action he appears to be doing is no action at all. Dr. Kūrtakoṭi says that if we desire to designate such activity as Karman, there is no harm. The same thing applies to Śaṅkara's liberated soul. From his point of view, he is a subject without an object, a seer without anything to be seen but to all practical and empirical purposes, he deals with objects of the external world, as if they really existed.

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20. Read : कार्यप्रविलापनस्य अस्तित्वनिष्ठत्वात् । Kaṭha Up. Bhā. II:3:12.
21. Vide his Comm. on Ch.Up.I:1:1, Br. Sū. I : 1:4 and Bhg.
22. Vide : विवेक Stanza 550.
23. Ibid., Stanza 549.
24. Ibid., stanza 479 अखण्डरूपस्थितिरेव मोक्षः ।
25. Read : चित्तमूलो विकल्पोयं चिताभावे न कश्चन ॥ विवेक. वलक्षणं यथा ध्वान्तं लीयते भानुतेजसि । तथैव सकलं दृश्यं ब्रह्मणि प्रविलीयते ॥ Vide विवेक. stanza 484, stanza 486.
26. Here, we are strongly reminded of a similar statement of Jñāneśvara, a well-known Mahārāṣtrian saint, who says :
    जेय हें संसारचित्र उमटे । तो मनोरूप पटु फाटेजरी सरोवर आटे । मम प्रतिभा कैंची ॥
27. Ibid. stanza 455 to 464.
28. Vide Bṛ. Sū. Bh. I : 1:4.

Śaṅkara has said that though the dream and its effect may be unreal, their अवगति is real for it continues in the waking state also. That, however, continues for a short time only. So also, the world and its effects may be unreal ultimately (for the removal) of Avidyā and not the rise of knowledge, which is said to be the true result of the unreal world, is after all phenomenal for Avidyā itself is phenomenal) but their अवगति or impression is real. It continues for some time, according to their intensity before knowledgge and that accounts for the continuance of the bodily actions for some time after knowledge. The soul, however, is free from Avidyā, which now affects him no more and stands to the body just as Īśvara stands to the world of objects. In this connection, it is worth remembering that Śaṅkara has interpreted all the topics in Br. Sū.'s as relating to Saguṇa Brahman. The theories of Jīvan Mukti, (Br̥.Sū/ 1:1:4) Bondage, liberation, individual soul, & c. refer only to empirical aspect of philosophy. The continuance of the body and performance of actions & c. also are only empirically true. From the point of view of the liberated soul, therefore, the world as such does not exist but has faded away in the light of knowledge, the absolute non-dual reality being the only residue.

The conclusion, therefore, seems clear that in Śaṅkara, the world has an empirical or phenomenal reality i.e. it exists only so long as the base is not known. The appearance continues much longer than do the others like the silver on the conch-shell and, therefore, seems to confer on it some measure of reality. From the point of view of the highest truth, however, it is a mirage and in illusion, a big dream, however much we may dislike the same. Śaṅkara would definitely agree with Gauḍapāda who says that 'all the visible world is like the dream, 'maya or Gandharva-nagara' and that everything that is visible is only a fabrication of the mind and as soon as mind is dissolved, all duality vanishes.[31]

Jiva or the Individual Soul

Jīva is the subjective aspect of the phenomenal creation. Śaṅkara calls him Vijñānatman and distinsuishes him only empirically. Transcendentally, he is nothing but the highest truth. His jīvatva is due to Avidyāaand thus only phenomental and not real. Śaṅkara clearly says that ultimately, there is no real entity like an individual soul, different from the supreme soul.[32] Reality or Sat itself is secondarily called Jīva, due to its contact with Upādhis. The ultimate of Jīva is Nirguṇa Brahman and not Īśvara.

Śaṅkara has defined Jīva many times and their sumtotal is that Jīva isw Nirguṇa Brahman, conditioned as it were by Upādhis, which are a result of Avidyā. The Upādhis are the gross body, Ahaṁkāra and the subtle body of eight principles. These are sometimes included in buddhi only and then Jīva is described as supreme soul, conditioned or qualified by buddhi or antahkaraṇa.[33] This does not mean that the supreme soul is really conditioned even for a short time. The conditioning that is Jīva is only an appearance, which is due to

31. Read : स्वप्नमाये यथादृष्टे गन्धर्वनगरं यथा । तथा दृष्टमिदं सर्वं वेदान्तेषु विचक्षणैः II 31 मनोदृश्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किंचित्सचराचरम् । मनसो ह्यमनीभावे द्वैतं नैवोपलभ्यते ॥ - III : 31.

32. Vide Br. Sū. Bh. on - I:1:31, II:4:20, III:2:20.

Avidyā, like the reflection of the Sun in many waters.[34] This explains why each soul is connected with his own Karmas properly though Ātman in all the bodies is the same Paramātman.

This sould is ultimately identical in all the bodies but is different empirically. He is never born and is eternal. The birth and death of Jīva are phenomenal and refer to the body only, which is due to Avidyā.[35] In Śataślokī, Śaṅkara clearly says that at birth and death, it is not the soul but the mind with desire, five prāṇas and 10 subtle sense-organs that enters the womb and goes out of the body.[36] Because he is unborn and eternal, he is the Knower, of course in his pure form.

There is a long discussion in the Br. Sūtras, regarding the measure (Parimāṇa) of Jīva and Śaṅkara ultimately establishes that as he is non-different from Brahman, which is all-pervading, he also is all-per-Vading (Vibhu). The references to him as being atomic pertain to the Upādhis and not to his own real nature. The Upādhi is buddhi and the various qualities like desire, hatred, happiness sorrow, &c. refer to this same adjunct. There is a false identification of this Ātman with buddhi, due to Avidyā and so these qualities also are said to belong to him.

The same reasoning applies to his being a door of deeds and an enjoyer. The Śruti-texts referring to him as Karta refer to his apparently conditioned state only. Fundamentally, he is Brahman, which is beyond action of any kind. So Kartritva and Bhoktritva also are with reference to Upādhis only, which are due to Avidyā.[37] This Kartṛtva also is from Īśvara and not his own. It is Īśvara who makes him do the acts he does but Īśvara is guided therein by the past deeds of the Jīva and so is not tainted by inequality and cruelty.[38]

Jīva is a part of Īśvara but the aṁśatva ia phenomenal and not real for Brahman is partless and there can be no real part of Brahmna. His being a part is like the sparks issuing from fire. Even though, however, the soul is a part of the Supreme Soul, the latter does not become happy or sorrowful as does the former for the misery of the soul is due to non-discrimination of himself from the Upādhis.[39] This aṁsatva also explains worldly and Vedic anujñā and parihāra (अनुज्ञापरिहारौ) though the Ātman is ultimately one. Jīva is only a reflection of Īśvara.

Again, even though the individual soul is ultimately the reality, he does not have the powers or qualities which Īśvara has, viz. ommiscience, power of creation &c. Avidyā conditions them in the Jīva but they are not so conditioned in ĪŚvara.

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33. Vide Jīvana-Vikāsa (Magazine) Aug. 58, p. 312.
34. Vide Br. Sū. 2:3:50 and comm. on Bhg. XV:8.
35. Bṛ. Sū. - II:3:16 and 29.
36. Vide शतश्लोकी St. 28.
37. Vide Bṛ. Sū. II:3:40.
38. Vide Bṛ. Sū. II:3:41,42.

All this discussion shows that ultimately, the subjective reality is non-dual, non-differenced consciousness while only empirically or phenomenally, there is a variety of individual souls, with their general and special characteristics. These characteristics again are due to Avidyā which itself is unreal.

Thus, we see that in Śaṅkara, Saguṇa Brahman minus Avidyā, which does not bind Him, is Reality. Lastly, the world of name and form minus the name and form, which are due to Avidyā, is the Reality. Thus, ultimately there is nothing but non-dual brahman, shorn of all attributes, that is the Reality, which is never sublated and this is the Advaita of Śaṅkara's metaphysics.

Śaṅkara's Epistemology

We have got an idea of the nature of the ultimate reality in Śaṅkara's system of thought. It is that which is non-dual, eternal and uniform and is never sublated. All else is mere appearance from that stand-point. To all practical purposes, the nature of this reality has been lost sight of and this has led to the rise of all seeming misery in the world of name and form. The only method to get beyond this is to realise the basal reality. What are the means of knowing the same is the next question.

The mutual relation of metaphysics and epistemology is a controversial question. There are many who contend that Śaṅkara's system of philosophy has no epistamology worth the name. Much of what passes as his philosophy is nothing but retionalised dogma. As, however, Mr. R.P. Singh observes, this is a misunderstanding of Śaṅkara, who, he says, does consider the various means of knowledge but shows their limits and assigns to them their proper spheres, within which only they operates.

According to Śaṅkara, knowledge is a correct apprehension of the thing to be cognised.[40] Such knowledge naturally does not depend upon human notions but on the thing in itself. In the case of a pillar, correct knowledge will be that it is a pillar and neither that it is a human being nor that it is anything else. In the case of accomplished entities, therefore, knowledge is always dependent upon the thing. It is uniform and is called Saṁyag-jñāna.[41]

Because knowledge depends on the thing itself, it is distinguished from activity. Activity is concerned with creating something and is related with some human being. It can be done, undone or done otherwise. It has nothing to do about revealing the nature of any thing. Knowledge is just the reverse of this. It has to create nothing but to the reveal what exists already and does not depend upon the individual. It is not a mental activity but rather the result of such activity.[42]

39. Ibid. II:3:46.

40. Read : वस्तुयायात्म्यं ज्ञानम्-ब्र.सू.भा. I : 1 : 2.

The same characteristic of knowledge makes it independent of time, space, circumstances &c. because knowledge, whether it refers to fire being hot or the Self, depends upon the entity. Activity depends upon the individual and hence upon time space &c.

Thus, though all knowledge seems to be uniform, Śaṅkara differentiates between the knowledge of the empirical objects and that of absolute reality. The first is called empirical and is sublated by the knowledge of the reality underlying these objects. These two forms of knowledge may be termed particular knowledge and universal knowledge. The fact of sublation of the first kind of knowledge, however, is patently clear in Śaṅkara as it is in the Upaniṣada and however much we may distinguish between the value-aspect and mere existential aspect of Śaṅkara's philosophy, it is difficult to agree with Mr. Singh, who seems to suggest that there is no such sublation of the particular knowledge at any stage, only that the objects of the world have to be know as being grounded in Brahman and that knowledge become universal.

Śaṅkara generally recognises Perception, Inference, Scripture (Śabda) and Intuition as the principal means of knowledge. Knowledge is that, which is produced from some means of knowledge[43] and the means have an existent or accomplished entity for its object. The nature of the object determines the nature of the means to be employed. Perception and inference operate with the sense organs of the human being and hence are approprlate for congnising visible objects of the world.

Out of them, perception is based on actual observation while inference is grounded in Preception but has a much wider range. It proceeds by means of certain marks (linga) observed in the world. Metaphysics is principally concerned with the ultimate reality and as such the important point is whether perception and/or reason can give us a correct knowledge of that reality. Śaṅkara answers in the negative. He says that Brahman is too subtle a thing though an accomplished one, to be cognised by perception or inference. It has no form and hence perception cannot give that knowledge and as it has no special mark, inference cannot operate. Moreover, Śaṅkara's knowledge of Brahman or thw self is grounded in direct realisation of the same[44] and thus is much more than the logical apprehension of subject and object. According to him, therefore, Direct Experience or Intuition gives the most correct and complete knowledge of Brahman and is easily the best means thereof. This intuitional experience, however, is a matter for very few persons, but Śrutis•are a record of such experiences in the past and we would be silly not to profit by these experiences. Where reason fails or ends, the province of scripture, as a means of knowledge of Brahman begins and therefore, Scripture is empirically the best means thereof. Śaṅkara does not rule out reason altogether. He says that it is useful in so far as it is not opposed to Śruti and as subsidiary to

41. Br. Sū. Bh. II:1:11.
42. Vide Br. Sū. Bh. - I:1:4.
43. Read: ज्ञानं तु प्रमाणजन्यम् । प्रमाणं च यथाभूतवस्तुविषयम् । ब्र.सू.भा. I:1:4.

Intutitional experience. He points out that Scriptures themselves speak of its value when they lay down Śravaṇa and manana as means of self-realisation. It, however, has to end in experience of reality and has no locus standi by itself. Reason can point out to Reality from a distance but cannot lead to its realisation. Mere individualistic reasoning, unrestrained by lessons of history embodied in the scriptures, cannot lead to the true knowledge of Reality. Scriptural aid is essential and that is had in the from of Vedas. As Dr. Rādhā. remarks, "the authoritativeness of the Śruti is derived from the fact that it is but the expression of experience and since experience is of a self-certifying character, the Vedas are said to be theri own proof, requuiring no support from elsewhere."[45]

The Scriptures, however, according to Śaṅkara, are unable to give us direct vision of the reality. It only serves to lift the veil of ignorance from the eyes of our intellect.[46] As soon as this veil is lifted, the reality shines of itself. That is why Śaṅkara emphasises that knowledge (of reality) is not something to be created but is ever existent. Only the veil has to be lifted. The result is anubhava or direct experience or vision of reality. The highest knowledge cannot be had except by this anubhava - not even with the aid of scriptures. That is the reason why he is accused of higher agnoaticism by those who do not belive in any testimony except that of reason. Even Dr. Rādhā. remarks that "the logic of Śaṅkara has in it elements of both agnosticism, and mysticism."[47]

The Theory of Avidyā

The reason why Tarka is inherently incapable of giving us a direct view of reality is that it is vitiated by a centeral flaw or Error, viz. Avidyā. Avidyā re-represents Śaṅkara's explanation for the eternal subject without an object becoming split up as subject and object, the infinite appearing as finite, foundational knowledge becoming functional or relational. Avidyā means the ignorance of the fundamental basis and projection of something other than reality and attributing that other to reality. This process of attributing non-real to the real is called Adhyāsa. Śaṅkara has equated Avidyā and Adhyāsa[48] but generally the one is said to give rise to the other. Adhyāsa consists of two things, viz. datum and interpregation. The datum is changeless and persistent while the interpretation changes.

The theory of Avidyā or Adhyāsa is considered to be the foundation of Śaṅkara's philosophy and as such he has expounded it at the very commencement of his commentary on the Br. Sūtras. Śaṅkara, however, does not regard Avidyā as a distinct real for that would introduce duality into his system. It is not permanently real because it is removed by

44. Read:
अवगतिपर्यन्तं ज्ञानं सन्धाच्याया इच्छायाः कर्म । Br.Sū.Bh...I:1:1.
अनुभवावसानत्वात् ब्रह्मज्ञानस्य ॥ Ibid.
45. Vide the Vedānta-Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, p. 84.
46. Vide Br. Sū. Bh. I:1:4.
47. Vide 'The Vedanta' - p. 92.

realisation of the base. Since, however, it projects an appearance of name and form with which everyone has to deal, it cannot be called altogether unreal. Hence, Śaṅkara says that it is अनिर्वचनीय (सदसद्भ्यामनिर्वचनीय which cannot be described either as existent or as non-existent, as real or unreal. His theory of Error, therefore, is know as Anirvacanīya Khyāti (अनिर्वचनीय ख्याति).

In Śaṅkara only, we find the origin of the later-day theory of the two-fold function of Avidyā, viz. āvaraṇa and vikśepa. Avidyā first veils the true nature of reality and then gives rise to the multiplicity of ideas of name and form.

This Avidyā is rooted in our being from time immermorial and is another name for our finitude. It is natural but not inevitable. It can be ended by knowing the Reality. So long as it continues, it attributes to reality something less than the real for there is nothing different from the real. All empirical sources of knowledge, therefore, are valid only till the ultimate truth is realised. Thus, they have only a relative validity and value for the finite understanding. The criterion of true knowledge, according to Śaṅkara, is the quality of non-sublation. That is why Śaṅkara, now and again says that even the so-called scriptures belong to the province of Avidyā and have for their object an individual rooted in Avidyā.

Śaṅkara's Ethics

The human being is the only ethical subject of the universe. Ethical judgements on his conduct generally take two forms, (i) theory of value or axiology - a theory as to what is to be persued or sought - judgements of value and (ii) theory of obligation - a theory of what is to be done. One must know the ends to be kept in view before knowing the means to be employed to achieve them.

Every human being, whoever he may be, (यः कश्चित्) is after continued pleasure or happiness. Due to Avidyā, he does not know the real seeker after happiness. He has identified himself with the finite bodily existence and seeks pleasure through that medium, by cherishing faith in the phantoms of phenomena. The result is grief. So long as the basis of all endeavour remaine the same, grief continues. The true method, therefore, is to get over this Avidyā and realise one's real natural self, which is lasting bliss. This bliss is liberation, self-knowlwdge &c. and it always exists. It is the only reality because it is the only eternally existent thing behind the fleeting panorama of appearances and hence it is the highest value. With Śaṅkara, there seems to be an ontological axiology rather than an axiological ontology, if, at all, these words can be applied to his system of thought. This, therefore, is his theory of value, of what ought to be pursued.

Śaṅkara is insistent on the point that a knowledge of the basal reality alone and nothing else will lead to liberation from the fetters of Avidyā, which is at the root of miseries and evils of the world and the removal of which is the object of all the Upaniṣads.[49] Throughout his extensive commentaries, he fights long and hard battles against the mīmāṁsakas who hold

48. Read: तमेतमेवलक्षणमध्यासं पण्डिता अविद्येति मन्यन्ते । अध्यासभाष्य

that performance of karmans without desire for fruit along with knowledge leads to liberation and lays down that karmans have nothing to do with liberation proper, which is a result of self-knowledge alone. Whatever leads to the attainment of this knowledge is to be adopted as the right action and that sums up his theory of obligation.

Among the means of liberation, then, Śaṅkara makes a distinction between अन्तरङ्गसाधन and बहिरङ्गसाधन Direct knowledge of the self is the internal and direct means while all others are external and indirect means - through the medium of qualifying a man for attaining that knowledge. It is indeed very difficult to agree with Prof. B. Upādhyāya who says that as a matter of fact, upāsana (particularly tantric) was in Śaṅkara's view, the real अन्तरङ्गसाधन but very few were qualified for the same and hence he did not include it in his Bhāṣyas and kept them confined to the two works, prapañca-sāra and Saundarya-Laharī. According to the professor, the Bhāṣya was for the ordinary person. He stressed therein the importance of Jñāna because a very highly qualified person was not required for the same.[50] One does not know what led the learned professor to make these statements, which appear to be completely opposed to Śaṅkara's views, expressed in his commentaries on the prasthāna-traya, minor works and hymns. It is a great demand, indeed, on our intellect as well as credulity that Śaṅkara hid away from us his true views regarding the real means of liberation, throughout all his works, major and minor and incorporated them in one minor work and one hymn. All his works unanimously declare that according to him, self-knowledge alone leads to liberation from Avidyā and upāsana of any kind - tantric or otherwise - is at best an indirect means of the liberation, through the medium of qualifying the aspirant for self-knowledge. Śaṅkara's having been a great master of mantra-śāstra or even his having introduced it at the difference mutts he established is not sufficient to disprove the thesis.

According to Śaṅkara, qualification for knowledge is four-fold - (1) नित्यानित्य वस्तु विवेकः - discrimination between the eternal and non-eternal (2) इहामुत्रार्थफलभोगविरागः non-attachment to enjoyment of fruits, temporal or heavenly (3) शमदमादिसाधनसम्पत् - rigorous discipline in the form of control of the mind, bodily sense-organs &c. (4) मुमुक्षुत्व desire for liberation. Śaṅkara lays down these four as precedent conditions for desiring to know Brahman.[51] A knowledge of Pūrva-mīmāṁsā is not at all an essential prerequisite of desire to know Brahman. If these four qualifications exist, one is qualified to undertake an inquiry into the nature of Brahman, even before he has studied the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā.

These four qualifications together constitute what Śaṅkara would have called purification of the mind or चित्तशुध्दि, which qualifies an aspirant for knowledge of the Self or Brahman. For bringing about this purification, Śaṅkara allows or even advocates the performance of scriptural duties like यज्ञ, दान, तपस, अग्निहोत्र &c. without desire for their fruit and

49. Read:
अस्यानर्थहेतोः प्रहाणाय मात्मैकत्वविद्याप्रतिपत्तये सर्वे वेदान्ता आरभ्यन्ते ॥ अध्यासभाष्य end.

50. Vide his नित्यानित्यवस्तुविवेक p. 286.

with a sense of dedication of them all to God.[52]

Karmans so performed make for purification of the mind which then is qualified for receiving knowledge of Brahman and then attaining mokśa. Karmans, therefore, are only indirectly useful for liberation.[53] But they have to be given up when that purification is attained. Śaṅkara insists on renunciation of all such Karmans after that state, as a necessary precedent condition of knowledge of the self.[54] After purification, Śaṅkara enjoins Śravaṇa manana and nididhyāsana - listening to Vedāntic expositions, meditating over what is heard and contemplation on the true nature of the self. When knowledge arises, these also cause for according to Śaṅkara, Jñāna and Karman are inherently opposed to each other. Whatever actions a realised person may be seen to be performing may not according to Śaṅkara, be called Katmans for the sense of doorship and desire for fruit have vanished on account of the dawning of knowledge. [55] From this, it is clear that even according to Śaṅkara, it is individualistic Karman, understood as such in common parlance, that is inconsistent with the state of self-realisation. He does not suggest that no physical activity is at all possible after knowledge. His only point is that it cannot be called Karman proper because it is not a volitional act on the part of the self-realised soul, who is altogether unconnected with it. Śaṅkara does admit that even such souls work for the uplift of the people (loka-saṁgraha).

In conformity with his own times, Śaṅkara insisted on observance of the caste rules and of the order and rules of the āśramas. Those who follow these rules, must become sannyāsins before they attain self-knowledge. The Vedic rule of life, however, did not apply to some sections of society and yet Śaṅkara admitted the possibility of their attaining liberation by means of Japa &c., through the grace of God. With the Bhg., he believed that the gates of Eternal knowledge were open to one and all true aspirants thereto. The reak qualification was internal and anyone who had it could attain the goal.

Śaṅkara stressed this aspect of deeper religion and said that all forms must ultimately converge towards rise of self-knowledge. So long as that knowledge did not arise, all things like pilgrimages and observances would not lead to liberation even after a hundered lives.[56]

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51 Read:
तस्माद्यथोक्तसाधनसम्पत्यनन्तरं ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा कर्तव्या । ब्र.सू.भा. । I:1:1

52 Read:
अभ्युदयार्थोऽपि यः प्रवृत्तिलक्षणो धर्मो वर्णामाधमांश्चोदिश्य विहितः सः देवादिस्थान प्राप्तिहेतुरपि सन्, ईश्वरार्पणबुध्द्याऽनुष्ठीयमानः सत्त्वशुद्धये भवति फलाभिसन्धिरहितः गीताभाष्य, उपोद्घात

53. Read:
शुद्धसत्त्वस्य च ज्ञाननिष्ठायोग्यताप्राप्तिद्वारेण ज्ञानोत्पत्तिहेतुत्वेन च निःश्रेयसहेतुत्वमपि प्रतिपद्यते ॥ Ibid -

54. Read :
तस्यास्य गीताशास्त्रस्य संक्षेपतः प्रयोजनं परं निःश्रेयसं... तच्च सर्वकर्मसंन्यासपूर्वकादात्मज्ञाननिष्ठारूपाद्धर्माद्भवति । इत्यतः संसारबीजभूतौ शोकमोहौ ॥ तयोश्च सर्वकर्मसंयासपूर्वकात् आत्मज्ञानात् नान्यतो निवृत्तिः ...... । Gītā-Bhāsya - II : 10

55. Read:
यस्य..... विशुद्धसत्त्वस्य ज्ञानमुत्पन्नं परमार्थतत्त्वविषयं.... तस्य कर्मणि कर्मप्रयोजने च निवृत्तेऽपि लोकसङ्ग्रहार्थे यत्नपूर्वं यथा प्रवृत्तस्तथैव कर्मणि प्रवृत्तस्य यत्प्रवृत्तिरूपं दृश्यते न तत्कर्म.... तत्फलाभिसन्ध्यअहंकाराभावस्य तुल्यत्वाद्विदुषः । Ibid.

Ethics, in Śaṅkara, has meaning during the state of ignorance only, because, as has been said earlier, even the scriptures have for their object a person grounded in Avidyā. Once the individual soul cuts the knot of Avidyā and realising his own nature truly, transcends the limits of the body with which he had identified himself so far due to Avidyā, ethical rules cease to exist for him. The Vedas also have no meaning for him then.[57] Śaṅkara even goes to the length of saying that the fact that a self-realised person has no duty left, which he must perform, is an ornament unto his Philosophy.[58] He rises above injunctions and prohibitions which apply only to the ignorant. This, however, does not mean that he becomes a licentiate in immorality. He becomes super-normal. Moral behaviour becomes his nature and whatever he does becomes a law and example in morality unto others. Every act of his, grounded as it is in self-knowledge, leads to the highest truth or rather is an expression of Reality itself. His acting for the uplift of men also takes the form of guiding him towards the ideal of self-knowledge. That is Śaṅkara's idea of lokasaṁgraha.[59] The self-realised person leads such a life till his prārabhada is exhausted and he is merged into the Infinite till the end of time.

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56. Read:
कुरुते गङ्गासागरगमनं व्रतपरिपालनमथ वा दानम् ।
ज्ञानविहीने सर्वमनेन मुक्तिर्न भवति जन्मशतेन ॥ चर्पटपञ्जरिकास्तोत्र Last Stanza.

57. Vide Gītā Bh. on II:46 - an oft-quoted line in this connection is worth reading: निस्त्रैगुण्ये पथि विचरतां को विधिः को निषेधः ।

58. Read : अलङ्कारो ह्यमस्माकं यद्ब्रह्मात्मावगतौ सत्यां सर्वकर्तव्यताहानिः कृतकृत्यता च ॥ Br.Sū.Bh. - I : 1 : 4

59. Read: उन्मार्गप्रवृत्तिनिवारणं लोकसङ्ग्रहः । गीताभाष्य III : 20

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